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Gorbachev Proposals on European Forces Noted

LD1207161888 Moscow TASS in English 1603 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 12 TASS—By a TASS diplomatic correspondent:

Speaking in the Polish Sejm (parliament) Monday, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev suggested setting up a war risk reduction center in Europe.

Offering a venue for cooperation between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, such a center could provide a useful structure strengthening European peace.

The constructive proposal has evoked immediate reponse. Polish leader Wojciech Jaruzelski said his country is prepared to host the center if the other interested countries agree.

The Soviet leader's words that time has come for deeper troops and arms cuts in Europe have also been welcomed in Warsaw, just like in many other European capitals.

A continent which has been the hardest hit by wars should become a home offering calm and peace for all. This requires breaking the deadlock at Vienna talks as soon as possible.

Gorbachev called for the deep reductions to be effected in three phases. First of all, it is essential to identify and iron out the existing imbalances and asymmetries between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty in troop strength and principal weaponry.

The resulting troop levels should then be further lowered by 500,000 men on each side. The subsequent cuts are to be carried out in such a way as to lend the armed forces of both alliances a purely defensive nature.

Claims about Soviet and Warsaw Treaty superiority in armed forces and conventional arms in Europe are popular in NATO countries, but they are based on tendentious estimates of the correlation of military strength between the two alliances.

So as to clear up the issue and expedite negotiating progress, the USSR and its Warsaw Treaty allies propose early exchanges of relevant data. This proposal, however, has not yet been accepted by NATO members.

This gives special significance to the following remarks made by Gorbachev in Warsaw:

"Dialogue rather than mutual accusations, a desire to understand the interests and arguments of the other side rather than ascribing evil intentions to it—this is how we understand civilized relations between states and this is what has guided us in offering the concept of a common European home for discussion by all."

FRG Officials View Proposals

LD1207115488 Moscow TASS in English 1143 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Bonn July 12 TASS—The Federal Government closely studies Mikhail Gorbachev's proposals, said Friedhelm Ost, a West German Government spokesman. The cabinet, he continued, proceeds from the fact that during the consultations in Vienna on the mandate for the talks on mutual reductions of the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals a high level of agreement was reached. Given the goodwill, these consultations could be completed before the start of the summer holidays and relevant talks started already this year, Ost noted.

Andreas von Buelow, a leading military expert of the SPD group at Bundestag (parliament), urged the leadership of the North Atlantic alliance to give a positive response to Mikhail Gorbachev's proposal to get the leaders of all European countries together to discuss conventional arms reduction issue. This proposal, he said in an interview with the newspaper NEUE OSNABRUECKER ZEITUNG, has great political importance. It underlines how serious the Soviet leadership is in its attitude to disarmament and how groundless NATO allegations are about the propaganda nature of Moscow actions.

Further FRG Reaction

LD1207194188 Moscow TASS in English 1922 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Bonn July 12 TASS—Expert of the parliamentary group of the Free Democratic Party for foreign policy matters Hildegard Hamm-Bruecher today declared in support of Mikhail Gorbachev's proposal for a European summit on question of the reduction of conventional armaments. If such a conference helps political leaders of European countries in the quest of the ways of disarmament in the area of conventional armaments, this chance should not be let slip, the MP said in an interview to the newspaper AUGSBURGER ALLGEMEINE.

A wave of protests against the initial reaction of NATO leaders who rejected the new Soviet peace initiatives out of hand is mounting in the FRG. Such a reaction shows that political leaders of the North Atlantic bloc lack genuine striving for disarmament, chief expert of the Greens group on disarmament Alfred Mechtersheimer said here today. Mikhail Gorbachev's initiative is a promising attempt to achieve disarmament in the area of conventional armaments, to overcome the impasse on this matter, he said.

The parliamentary group of the leading opposition party—the SDPG [Social Democratic Party of Germany], criticized NATO's non-constructive stand. The proposal of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee for the reduction of the numerical strength of the armed forces to 500,000 on both sides does not

replace talks on conventional armaments, but greatly facilitates the achievement of progress at these talks, holds Hermann Scheer, the SDPG parliamentary group's expert on disarmament.

Norway Views Summit Idea

LD1207162188 Moscow TASS in English 1417 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Oslo July 12 TASS—Norwegian Foreign Minister Thorvald Stoltenberg has welcomed Mikhail Gorbachev's proposal for a pan-European summit, saying he is convinced that it will be able to resolve important international problems.

Speaking in an interview with the Norwegian newspaper DAGBLADET, he said the forum should concentrate on making for progress at talks within the framework of the Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building and Disarmament in Europe.

It is only after that and with account taken of the understandings that will have been reached at the talks that it will be expedient to begin dealing with issues directly related to cuts in conventional arms in Europe, Stoltenberg said.

Norway's Holst Reacts

LD1207202688 Moscow TASS in English 2006 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Oslo July 12 TASS—TASS correspondent Stanislav Tikhomirov reports:

The new Soviet initiative for the holding of a European summit to discuss the possibilities and ways of reducing conventional armaments in Europe was positively assessed by Norway's Defence Minister Johan Jorgen Holst. I welcome this proposal, he said addressing journalists here today.

It is very important that the talks on arms control be held not by experts only, Holst said. The main political directions should be discussed and determined at a higher level. The holding of such a forum is also necessary to achieve progress at the talks, to start the process of conventional arms reduction and promote its successful implementatiton.

Italy's Formigoni Cited

LD1207212688 Moscow TASS in English 2047 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Rome July 12 TASS—The proposals advanced by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev during his speech in the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic confirmed the correctness of the strategy aimed at a mutual, balanced and verified disarmament. This was said by Deputy Chairman of the European Parliament, Roberto Formigoni, here today. He said that guided by goodwill, NATO and the Italian Government should discuss these initiatives in all seriousness in order to achieve a positive result.

Mitterrand: 'Interesting'

LD1207214888 Moscow TASS in English 2048 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Paris July 12 TASS—French President Francois Mitterand described as interesting Mikhail Gorbachev's proposal made in Warsaw that European countries discuss the question of conventional arms reduction. Francois Mitterrand said that this proposal should be additionally studied. Answering questions from journalists at Luxeuil-les-Bains, Saone Haute Department, the president confirmed that he pays priority attention to the problem of conventional arms reduction. He said, in part: "These proposals are interesting but they advance a whole number of political conditions on which I can speak later".

At Luxeuil-les-Bains, Francois Mitterrand took part in the presentation of the first squadron of France's tactical nuclear forces consisting of "Mirage-2000" warplanes.

Zholkver Comments on Reactions

LD1207183088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Aleksandr Zholkver commentary]

[Text] I must admit it is nice when the country's leader is welcomed as warmly as is now taking place in Warsaw. The warmth and sincerity of the meetings being held in Poland has not gone unnoticed by the Western mass media, but they are paying most attention today to Comrade Gorbachev's speech in the Polish Sejm and the important new initiative made in it by the Soviet Union, aimed at strengthening European and universal security. You already know of the first reaction from the news section of our program, but what does Aleksandr Zholkver, our political observer, think about this?

[Zholkver] In this speech, the proposals aimed at resolutely stepping up the reduction of troops and arms in Europe attracted particular attention. Let me remind you that the talks on this issue have already been going on in Vienna for slightly under 15 years. However, the fruitless discussion of figures relating to the numbers of armed forces of both military groupings in central Europe has forced the Vienna talks into an impasse.

Recently, a mandate has begun to be worked out in the Austrian capital for new talks on arms reduction, not only in central Europe but on the whole European Continent, from the Atlantic to the Urals. Now, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is offering to accelerate the agreement of this mandate and, in general, as he put it, in some way to shake out obsolete notions of this kind. Perhaps it would be worth holding a second, this time, all-European, Reykjavik, a meeting of all European

countries for the discussion of one single question: how to break the present vicious circle, how to ensure the transition from words to deeds in the area of conventional arms reduction. The idea of a second Reykjavik has found support, including in the West German press. The newspaper AUGSBURGER ALLGEMEINE, in particular, writes: Indeed, why not call a general European summit in order to discuss the main features of a reciprocal reduction of conventional weapons?

Let me remind you that Comrade Gorbachev's speech set forth the completely specific proposals of our country on implementing such a reduction in three stages, from revealing and eliminating all imbalances between NATO and the Warsaw Pact to reducing their troops to 500,000 on each side and continuing this reduction in such a way as to make the military formations of both sides exclusively defensive.

Commenting on these proposals, the West German press admits that the Soviet leader has again outstripped NATO, which has still not worked out its own conception on this question. Moreover, several NATO leaders, including its new general secretary, Woerner, former FRG defense minister, are still stubbornly holding on to old stereotypes, to the claim about the military superiority of the Warsaw Pact countries and to the demand for compensation and modernization on the part of NATO. However, as the German newspaper NEUE WESTFAELISCHE writes: The old images of the enemy no longer suit Europe. I think that the first, broad, positive responses to the Soviet leaders's speech in the Polish Sejm are already a clear testimony to the fact that the new political thinking is gradually becoming established in our common European home.

NATO's 'Cool Response' Viewed

LD1207230088 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] [Announcer] The North Atlantic Treaty Organization has given a cool response to Mikhail Gorbachev's latest proposals on conventional disarmament put forward during his visit to Warsaw. Nikolay Gorshkov has been trying to find an explanation for this out of hand and pessimistic reaction.

[Gorshkov] The precipitate reaction from NATO, a few hours after Mikhail Gorbachev made his proposals, appears to reflect the alliance's concern that this new initiative should be countered before it took root in the minds of the Western public. Just to remind you, these proposals include a pan-European summit to break the impasse at the conventional disarmament negotiations in Vienna; a comparable reduction of Soviet air strength in Eastern Europe if the United States cancels plans to transfer 72 nuclear-capable F-16 fighters to Italy after their withdrawal from Spain; and the setting up of a permanent war risk reduction center in Europe to prevent the outbreak of war through accident or misjudgement.

[Announcer] In London, as you may have heard, a Foreign Office spokesman said the British Government believed the place (?where there) should be negotiations on reductions in conventional arms is Vienna and there was no need for another forum in the form of a pan-European summit.

[Gorshkov] The conventional disarmament negotiations in Vienna have been dragging on for 14 years and have produced no results so far. The one all-important question, in the words of Mikhail Gorbachev, is how to break the current vicious circle and turn words into deeds in reducing conventional arms. That's the point of proposing a pan-European summit which could adopt a political decision and give a boost to the disarmament negotiations in Vienna. Just think, they haven't even agreed yet on how to count their respective armies and have therefore found no starting point for actual force reductions.

[Announcer] Manfred Woerner, the NATO secretary general, insists that these reductions should be asymmetrical and that it is the Warsaw Pact Organization that has got to reduce more.

[Gorshkov] What we propose, and Mikhail Gorbachev reiterated this in Warsaw on Monday, is to identify and eliminate all NATO-Warsaw Pact imbalances and asymmetries.

But it is the NATO alliance that is slow in drawing up its negotiating position. Herr Woerner said he hoped NATO would be able to present its proposals before the end of the year, but the Western allies have not yet declared on exactly which weapon systems they want included in the talks and on the precise definition of the area under discussion. A pan-European summit could break this logjam and some of the NATO leaders understand that. The French president, Francois Mitterrand, gave a cautious welcome to the proposals, and the Norwegian defense minister, Johan Holst, said that such a high-level meeting would be important in starting a long-delayed process.

[Announcer] But the NATO secretary general poured scorn on Gorbachev's offer to withdraw Soviet fighter aircraft from Eastern Europe if 72 U.S. nuclear capable planes were not moved to Italy.

[Gorshkov] I think here the Italian reaction is what matters more and the Italian prime minister, Ciriaco de Mita, said that this would be a great step forward on the road to peace after 14 years of disappointing negotiation.

Delegation Arrives for Nuclear, Space Talks

Obukhov Makes Statement

LD1007152588 Moscow TASS in English 1449 GMT 10 Jul 88

[Quotation marks as received]

[Text] Geneva July 10 TASS—The USSR delegation arrived in Geneva today for the next round of the Soviet-U.S. negotiations on nuclear and space arms.

Aleksay Obukhov, the head of the Soviet delegation, made a statement at the airport.

He said: "The USSR delegation has arrived at Geneva to begin the next round of the Soviet-U.S. negotiations on nuclear and space arms.

This resumed round has a special dimension to it. The two delegations have been instructed to go on preparing the draft treaty on 50-per cent reductions in Soviet and U.S. strategic offensive arms while observing the ABM Treaty, taking account of the additional understanding reached at the Moscow summit on such issues as mobile ICBM's and long-range ALCM's [air-launched cruise missiles].

It should be stressed that progress at the negotiations now depends primarily on resolution of problems related to the observance of and non-withdrawal from the ABM Treaty, as well as the problem of limitations on the deployment of long-range SLCM's [submarine-launched cruise missiles].

The Soviet side has tabled clear-cut proposals on both of these questions. We stand for recording in a legally binding document the language on the observance of and non-withdrawal from the ABM Treaty in its full and integral form as agreed upon at the Soviet-U.S. summit in December 1987 and reiterated in Moscow in May and June this year.

The Soviet side has put forward well-defined and far reaching proposals with regard to long-range SLCM's. This is imperative for guaranteeing the effectiveness and stability of the a future treaty and precluding its circumvention. The Soviet side favors the strictest possible verification, also as regards long-range SLCM's, up to inspection of any naval ship. We shall try to convince the United States to accept also this form of verification.

In general, we attach particular importance to strict and reliable verification of compliance with the limits to be established. Mikhail S. Gorbachev recently reaffirmed this position of principle in his report to the 19th all-union party conference. The Soviet delegation will as consistently as before implement this approach in its practical work at the talks.

A long way has been already covered toward the treaty on 50-per cent reductions in strategic offensive arms. The outstanding questions can and should be resolved. Following the instructions issued to the delegations by the top leaders during their meeting in Moscow, the Soviet side is prepared for active and meaningful deliberations in both the space and the strategic offensive arms negotiating groups. We do not want to lose momentum and would like to work toward the earliest possible completion of joint draft texts of the relevant documents. We expect an equally constructive approach from the U.S. side since the future treaty can only be a product of combined efforts by both sides.

All nations and peoples are looking forward to the conclusion of a treaty on 50-per cent reductions in strategic offensive arms while observing the ABM Treaty. This is essential for global security and for averting the threat of war. People's hopes must not be dashed.

Let me conclude by expressing our gratitude to the authorities and the people of the canton of Geneva for their warm hosptiality".

10th Round Opens 12 Jul

LD1207094488 Moscow TASS in English 0937 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Geneva July 12 TASS—The next, tenth, round of Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space arms opened today in Geneva with a plenary meeting.

The current round will continue preparation of the draft treaty on a 50 per cent reduction of strategic offensive weapons of the USSR and USA in conditions of observance of the ABM Treaty with due account taken of the additional understandings reached during the summit meeting in Moscow.

Draft Protocol Submitted

LD1207193188 Moscow TASS in English 1912 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Geneva July 12 TASS—A regular, tenth round of the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space arms opened here today with a plenary meeting of the delegations of the USSR and the USA.

In its statement at the meeting, the USSR delegation emphasized that it had arrived in Geneva with the instructions to press for the conclusion within the shortest period of time of the drafting of a treaty on 50 per cent cuts in strategic offensive arms in conditions of strict observance of the ABM Treaty.

At the very first meeting in this round of talks, the Soviet side has taken a new constructive step aimed at the achievement of arrangement. It has tabled a draft protocol to the future treaty on strategic offensive arms about the summary throwweight of intercontinental ballistic missiles and submarine-launched ballistic missiles. The Soviet proposal takes into account the considerations expressed by the delegation of the USA and creates the necessary basis for reaching agreement on this matter.

It was noted that the Soviet side expects reciprocal constructive actions on the part of the U.S. delegation at the talks.

Ninth Round of Soviet-U.S. CW Talks Opens

LD1107214588 Moscow TASS in English 2054 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] Geneva July 11 TASS—The 9th round of the Soviet-American consultations on banning chemical weapons opened here today.

In line with instructions received by the delegations of the two countries during the Moscow summit, the sides will discuss the main outstanding issues of drafting a convention, as well as various aspects of building confidence and openness, including those on a bilateral basis. At the Moscow summit the Soviet and U.S. leaders both confirmed the aim of all-embracing and global prohibitions of chemical weapons and pointed to permanent urgency of the task of concluding a relevant effective convention.

The Soviet delegation at the consultations is led by Ambassador Yuriy Nazarkin, head of the Soviet delegation at the disarmament conference, and the U.S. delegation—by Ambassador Max Friedersdorf, head of the U.S. delegation at the disarmament conference.

Ryzhkov Document Presented

LD1307112888 Moscow TASS in English 1042 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Geneva July 13 TASS—At the disarmament conference Ambassador Yuriy Nazarkin, head of the Soviet delegation presented as an official document the replies by Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to the question of a TASS correspondent on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

German Parties' Peace Initiative Praised

LD0807214388 Moscow TASS in English 2108 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 8 TASS—TASS commentator Sergey Staroselskiy writes:

The introduction of new political thinking into international politics is bringing tangible positive results. Bilateral and multilateral initiatives are acquiring ever growing significance. The latest example of that is the proposal of the joint working group of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany for establishing a zone of confidence and security in central Europe, which was put forward on Thursday.

In elaborating the proposal, the Social Democratic Party of Germany and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany proceeded from the premise, which increasingly becomes valid, that at the nuclear age international security can be only mutual, and the balance of force should be replaced by the balance of interests

It is noteworthy that the initiative comes from the leading political parties of the states which are on the junction of military confrontation in Europe between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO. The meaning of the plan, put forward by the two parties, is that to establish a zone of confidence and security in the centre of the European Continent it is necessary to take steps that would convince both sides that there is no intention for a sudden attack.

Further development of the course, launched by the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, could be mentioned among such steps. The joint working group proposed that exercises involving over 40,000 servicemen be totally given up, and that notification about exercises involving over 20,000 men be given for sure two years in advance. It is also proposed to further reduce the lower level of the strength of the personnel and tanks involved in the exercises announced 60 days in advance.

The conclusion made by the two parties that, with the entry into force of the INF Treaty, the historic change appeared for eliminating from international politics such categories as confrontation and intimidation, seems to be exclusively important and topical. The sides turned down any idea of compensation for the missiles to be liquidated in accordance with the treaty, and underlines that the process of disarmament and detente should become irreversile.

In Soviet diplomatic circles it is noted that the proposal of the joint working group of the two parties accords with the USSR's efforts aimed at further improvement of the political climate in Europe and the whole world. The initiative of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the Social Democratic Party of Germany reaffirms the rightfulness of the thesis in Mikhail Gorbachev's report to the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, saying that at the turn of the 20th-21st centuries the ensuring of security of the states will increasingly shift from the sphere of correlation of military potentials to the sphere of political interaction.

Military Inspectors Conclude FRG Inspection

LD0907231888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 9 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by V. Kondratyev, presented by commentator Vladimir Molchanov]

[Text] Good evening. Is our interdependent world capable of new political thinking, the seeds of which are, alas, not yet producing their first good shoots everywhere? It is probably only new practical deeds which will provide the answer to this question. Years will pass before the Pershings and cruise missiles finally disappear from the

FRG territory, and by then, possibly, our military inspectors' trips will have become an everyday matter. But the first visit is, of course, an extraordinary, historic event.

[V. Kondratyev] Our IL-62 brought 19 experts to Frankfurt. In accordance with the provisions of the Washington accord, they informed their hosts the following morning of where they intended to go for the purpose of their inspection. The choice fell on Wueschheim, where cruise missiles are sited, and Mutlangen, a Pershing-2 base. They were to carry out verification of the information which the United States had provided to the Soviet Union—most recently on 13 June—on the number and types of the nuclear weapons subject to destruction. A relaxed and businesslike atmosphere was established right from the start of the inspectors' stay in the Federal Republic, according to representatives of both sides.

Everything has been prepared at the bases for those carrying out the verification. The inspectors have the right to examine any area of the premises and any container capable, by virtue of their dimensions, of being a shelter for missiles. What is now happening in the FRG, other European countries, the Soviet Union, and the United States still seemed unthinkable not so long ago. And so, the day is not far away when weapons of mass destruction which are in full combat readiness will go under the press, be cut into parts, and exploded.

After the conclusion of the inspection, the group of Soviet experts left the FRG. Their first visit has ended, and new ones are due.

Yazov, Others See Off Pact Ministers
PM1207115588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Jul 88 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Defense Ministers' Departure"]

[Text] Delegations from the following, which had been in Moscow at the routine session of the Warsaw Pact states' defense ministers, left for home 8 July: the Bulgarian People's Army, headed by Army General D. Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Bulgarian minister of national defense; the Hungarian People's Army, headed by Colonel General F. Karpati, member of the MSZMP Central Committee and Hungarian defense minister; the GDR National People's Army, headed by Army General H. Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and GDR minister of national defense; the Polish Army, headed by Army General F. Siwicki, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and Polish minister of national defense; the Army of the Socialist Republic of Romania, headed by Colonel General V. Milea, candidate member of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee and Romanian minister of national defense; and the Czechoslovak People's Army, headed by Army General M. Vaclavik, member of the CPCZ Central Committee and CSSR minister of national defense.

At the airport the delegations were seen off by Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister; Marshal of the Soviet Union V.G. Kulikov, commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact states' Joint Armed Forces; Army General A.I. Gribkov, chief of staff of the Warsaw Pact states' Joint Armed Forces, and other officials.

Petrovskiy Assesses Bloc Deputy Ministers Talks
PM1307082388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Conference in Pyongyang"]

[Text] Pyongyang, 11 Jul—A conference of socialist countries' deputy foreign ministers took place on 9-10 July in Pyongyang to prepare for the upcoming 43d UN General Assembly session.

Delegations from Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, the GDR, the DPRK, Cuba, Laos, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, the Belorussian SSR, and the Ukrainian SSR took part in its work. A CEMA spokesman took part in the conference as an observer.

The conference participants discussed in a friendly atmosphere the main points on the agenda for the upcoming 43d UN General Assembly session. An exchange of opinions took place on the ways to continue the UN dialogue on questions of creating an all-embracing system of peace and security and of boosting the role of the international community in developing this process.

A joint news conference was held today by the heads of the delegations participating in the conference. Speaking there, V.F. Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister, noted:

In today's interdependent world, he stressed, this process must be reinforced by real actions to reduce tension in other regions, notably the Asia-Pacific region. One acute problem in international politics is the elimination of the seat of tension on the Korean peninsula. This would be facilitated by the implementation of the DPRK's initiatives aimed at the withdrawal of U.S troops and nuclear weapons from South Korea, the transformation of the peninsula into a nuclear-free peace zone, the phased large-scale reduction of armed forces, and the convocation of a joint North-South conference to discuss the problems involved in the peaceful and democratic reunification of the country. The implementation of these initiatives is of great importance not only for the normalization of the situation on the Korean peninsula but also the situation in the Asia-Pacific region as a whole. In the course of the conference we also stressed that we resolutely oppose attempts to in any way perpetuate the division of Korea, the Soviet delegation head pointed out.

The delegation heads present at the conference were received by Kom Yong-sam, member of the Workers Party of Korea [WPK] Central Committee Politburo, deputy premier of the Administrative Council, and DPRK foreign minister.

Perfilyev Gives Foreign Ministry News Briefing

Gorbachev's Visit to Poland

LD1207130788 Moscow TASS in English 1255 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 12 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Poland is "taking place in a traditional atmosphere of mutual understanding and good will and demonstrating common approaches to the cardinal issues of self-development and refinement of socialism," a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told a news briefing here today.

Spokesman Vadim Perfilyev, deputy chief of the ministry's Information Directorate, expressed the conviction that the Soviet leader's visit will be "a landmark, milestone event in the development of all-round interaction between the two fraternal parties and states, fill our cooperation with fundamentally new contents and facilitate a still greater unity and cohesion of the socialist countries."

He called the reporters' attention to the new foreign policy initiatives made by the general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee in his speech to the Polish Sejm (parliament) Monday, in particular a proposal for pulling out analogous Soviet aircraft from forward bases in Eastern Europe if NATO agrees not to deploy in Italy its 72 F-16 fighter-bombers that Spain has refused.

"Earlier the governments of the United States and Italy were notified of the first proposal, but there has been no response. We are waiting for one," Perfilyev said.

Speaking of a proposal for creating a war risk reduction center for preventing a surprise attack in Europe, he said all the European nations could become involved in its activities.

The experience gained by the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe would be most useful in this respect, the spokesman added.

"Obviously, the most appropriate thing would be to discuss this proposal in detail within the framework of a Stockholm II," he said.

SPD-SED Security Plan

LD1207140088 Moscow TASS in English 1324 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 12 TASS—"The Soviet Union welcomes the latest initiative of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD, Federal Republic of Germany) and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] (SUPG, German Democratic Republic) directed at strengthening security and enhancing confidence in Europe, an area of direct contact between two military-political alliances having the biggest armed forces and highly destructive weapons," a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told a briefing in Moscow today.

Vadim Perfiliyev, deputy head of the Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, commented on the SPD and SUPG statement calling for establishing a "zone of confidence and security in central Europe."

He drew the journalists' attention to the fact that the two parties suggested establishing permanent "confidence centres" in central Europe to exchange information to prevent critical situations in the region, setting up standing joint observation posts in strategic areas and a system of joint satellite monitoring and organising direct bilateral communication to prevent crises.

Perfiliyev stated that "the available experience of the functioning of the nuclear risk reduction centres of the USSR and the United States confirms the usefulness of this form of deepening trust and defusing military tension."

'Concern' Over Lebanon

LD1207152188 Moscow TASS in English 1448 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 12 TASS—"It is believed in the Soviet Union that all the parties involved in the events in Beirut in one way or another should give up the use of arms as soon as possible, show restraint, enter a political dialogue and do their utmost to normalise the situation", Deputy Chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry Vadim Perfilyev said at a briefing today.

He called the attention of journalists to the fact that alarming reports have been coming from Lebanon of late: Dangerous tension around the Palestinian refugee camps in Beirut does not ease. The blood of peaceful people is spilt as a result of armed clashes almost daily.

"This state of affairs causes serious concern in the Soviet Union", the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said. He noted that Lebanon's history showed more than once that the problems of that country and those whose fate it was to find themselves in its territory do not lend themselves to the solution by the force of arms. V. Perfilyev is of the opinion that the possibility to settle the political situation in Lebanon can only be found by painstaking political work, by equal and constructive dialogue.

Gulf Situation Discussed

LD1207152588 Moscow TASS in English 1501 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 12 TASS—"The Soviet Union holds that a tragic incident in the Persian Gulf should be thoroughly investigated in the framework of discussions

in the U.N. Security Council. The USSR is for condemning the actions that led to the death of peaceful people, for withdrawal of U.S. Navy from a district which is thousands of miles away from the U.S. coasts," Deputy Chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry Vadim Perfilyev said this at a briefing in Moscow today.

He emphasized that "the Soviet Union warned more than once at different levels that the concentration of large foreign naval forces, above all U.S. naval forces in the Gulf where the situation aggravated to the limit by the Iran-Iraq war might have heavy consequences."

Noting that the situation in the Persian Gulf has long been requiring relaxation, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman recalled that in 1987 the Soviet Government proclaimed the need for resolute measures to improve the situation in the region and suggested that all naval ships of states other than those of the region be withdrawn from the Gulf within the shortest period of time.

Vadim Perfilyev drew the attention of journalists to the fact that the incident over the Persian Gulf continues agitating the international public. There exists concern over the further developments in the area, the more so since U.S. officials declare that the USA will not be revising its policy with regard to the situation in the Persian Gulf, will not be withdrawing its naval forces or even reducing its military presence in the area. "Who can guarantee that such an incident will not be repeated," Perfilyev asked. "And it can even entail a greater loss of life," he said.

The USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman expressed satisfaction with the stand of the European Parliament which called for an end to military operations in the Persian Gulf and for withdrawal of all naval ships from the region as promptly as possible. "I hope that the ICAO [International Civil Aviation Organization] session convened in Ottawa on July 13 on the question of the downed Iranian airliner will also take constructive decisions and contribute to the ensurance of the safety of flights over the region," Vadim Perfilyev said.

Pakistani Violations Viewed

LD1207161988 Moscow TASS in English 1528 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 12 TASS—The USSR and Afghanistan are fulfilling the Geneva agreements to the point, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told a news briefing here today.

Spokesman Vadim Perfilyev, deputy chief of the ministry's Information Directorate, said that since the signature of those accords Soviet troops have been withdrawn from a number of eastern provinces in Afghanistan.

There are no Soviet forces now in as many as 18 out of that country's 30 provinces, he added.

Pakistani authorities, by contrast, are continuing to violate the Geneva agreements and encouraging the Afghan opposition to carry on the armed struggle, Perfilyev said.

Weapons and ammunition are being shipped from Pakistan to Afghanistan, in particular to the Provinces of Kabul, Qandahar, Parvan, Nangarhar, Zabul and Kaniz [name as received], the district of Khowst and several other regions.

Pakistani military advisers together with representatives of the leadership from the "Alliance of the Seven" inspecting Afghan opposition units based in Pakistan and Afghanistan, according to the spokesman.

He said the armed opposition has not given up attempts to seize a province or district in central Afghanistan so as to present it as a major victory for the "resistance movement".

It is seeking to evade responsibility for continued shellings of and acts of terrorism in Kabul and other cities and areas in Afghanistan, Perfilyev said.

He noted that leaders of the die-hard opposition have alleged that Kabul has been rocketed from Soviet posts around the city.

"The aim of these allegations is clear, namely to escape the just anger of the Afghan people over crimes committed by the intransigent opposition.

"We strongly deny these insinuations," the Soviet spokesman said.

He urged a responsible and realistic attitude to developments in Afghanistan, saying such an attitude is lacking in a recent statement by British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe in Parliament.

Speaking there, Howe repeated fabrications by the London-based TIMES to the effect that Soviet troops massacred the population of the village of Kolalou [name as received] in the beginning of the year.

"This does not correspond to facts at all," Perfilyev said.

He also reported a representation made to the charge d'affaires ad interim of Pakistan to the USSR today over another blatant violation of the Geneva agreements by the Pakistani side.

Also today, an oral representation made to the U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union, Jack Matlock, expressed the hope that the United States will, as a guarantor of the Geneva accords, use all its influence on Pakistan to bring about an end to interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.

Arms Talks, Central America

LD1207163788 Moscow TASS in English 1545 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 12 TASS—Progress at the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space arms, resuming in Geneva today, will depend on the American side, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said here today.

Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the ministry's Information Directorate, told a briefing that "this applies primarily to the solution of issues connected with observance of the ABM Treaty and limitation of long-range sea-launched cruise missiles."

The Soviet Union proceeded from the premise that the SLCM [submarine-launched cruise missiles] issue should be resolved within the framework of the treaty on strategic offensive arms, now being drafted, Perfilyev said.

This was required in order to ensure the effectiveness of the would-be treaty. Without limiting the SLCM's, it was impossible to achieve deep cuts in strategic offensive weapons. Otherwise, there would remain a possibility of circumventing the future treaty and retaining a channel for the strategic offensive arms race.

The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman described Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev's visit to the United States as a part of the process of the further development of contacts between the two countries at various level

"Contacts in the military field," he stated, "facilitate broader mutual understanding and trust, positively influence the present state of relations between our countries and help overcome the existing stereotypes."

Perfilyev observed that during the visit, accompanied by frank and useful exchanges of views, the chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces and first deputy defence minister of the USSR made a statement together with William Crowe, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the United States, about the sides' intention to avoid dangerous military activity.

They came out in favour of setting up a Soviet-American working group with a view to elaborating corresponding recommendations to reduce the risk of the outbreak of military incidents.

The ministry spokesman gave attention to the situation in Central America, noting that the cessation of talks between the Sandinist government and the Nicaraguan armed opposition "added elements of tension not only to Nicaragua, but also to the entire Central American region."

The latest round of talks between the Nicaraguan Government and the contra rebel leaders failed to bring about any final agreement due to the advancement by the contras of new conditions that were totally unacceptable for the Sandinists and contradicted the Sapoa agreement and the Guatemala accords.

The conclusion of an agreement on truce and on participation of armed opposition forces in the country's political life, half completed, "is hanging in the air," he noted.

Relations should be based on the sensible balance of the sides' interests—at international, regional or national level, Perfilyev said. "There is only one path that leads to that—talks between the sides concerned with strict non-interference of external forces and respect of the principles of sovereign equality and the right to self-determination of all peoples."

Akhromeyev's U.S. Visit

LD1207193988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1730 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] As we have already reported, the visit of Marshal of the Soviet Union Akhromeyev, chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces and first deputy defense minister of the USSR, to the United States has ended. As a result of the visit, it is planned to broaden contacts between representatives of the armed forces of the Soviet Union and the United States. Here is what Perfilyev, deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, said at a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists:

[Begin Perfilyev recording] This was the first visit of this kind in the history of Soviet-U.S. relations. It was a part of the process of the further development of contacts between the USSR and the United States at various levels.

Contacts in the military sphere assist the broadening of understanding and trust, which can only have a positive effect on the state of relations between our countries and help in overcoming the existing stereotypes. A plan for contacts between Armed Forces of the Soviet Union and the United States for 1988-1990, which envisages a broad program of exchanges of visits by representatives from the armed forces of the two countries, military delegations, and ships, was signed during the visit and will also assist in these goals. U.S. Defense Secretary Carlucci will visit the Soviet Union in August. Ministers of the Army, Navy, and Air Forces, chiefs of staffs of various U.S. Armed Forces, and Admiral Crowe will then visit our country. The three commanders in chief of the various Armed Forces of the USSR will pay a visit to the United States.

The chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces and the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staffs of the U.S. Armed Forces have made a joint statement on the sides' intention to avoid dangerous military activities and to set up a Soviet-U.S. military working group, with the aim of working out corresponding recommendations

to facilitate a reduction of the risk of outbreak of dangerous military incidents. The sides have carried out frank and useful exchanges of views on questions being examined at the talks on nuclear (?and) space arms.

Both sides evaluate positively the results of the visit. [end recording]

UN Postpones Discussion on Iranian Airbus
LD1207153588 Moscow TASS in English 1515 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] New York July 12 TASS—The United Nations Security Council meeting slated for today has been postponed till July 14.

The decision was taken by the council president following consultations with the members of the key U.N. agency and with representatives of Iran.

The meeting was to discuss at the request of Iran the tragedy in the Persian Gulf where the U.S. Navy has shot down an Iranian airliner.

PRAVDA Views Week's International Events
PM1207080188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jul 88 First Edition p 4

["International Review" column by Aleksandr Serbin: "The World This Week"—boldface as published]

[Text] Along the Course of Socialist Renewal [subhead]

The major event in Soviet society's domestic life—the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference—has become with full justification an event of world significance. The conference resolutions were published last week, and they generated lively and keen interest all over the world, among the most diverse political circles. They were reprinted in full by newspapers in Poland, Bulgaria, and other socialist states, while more or less full reports on the documents appeared in the newspapers in dozens of countries, from THE WASHINGTON POST in the United States to regional newspapers in India.

If we were to bring together all the commentaries published by mass media abroad during and after the 19th conference's work, the result would probably run into several thick volumes. The conference, China's GUANGMING RIBAO wrote, "attracted the attention of all mankind." A few days ago the Polish press cited J. Czyrek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, who said: "This historical forum marked the beginning of a new stage in the life of the USSR and the entire Soviet society, as well as in the development of the theory and practice of socialism as a whole." An interesting opinion was also expressed by Democratic U.S. Senator Thomas Harkin. Speaking about the restructuring, whose progress was examined at the conference, he compared it with a breath of fresh air. "It also encourages Americans to take a more careful look at themselves and to define the immediate tasks," the senator said. "Restructuring is thus also a life-giving process for the United States and the peoples in other countries."

The Presidium of the Social Democratic Party of Germany noted an important aspect of the results of the forum of Soviet Communists. The conference, its statement says, gave full support for the Soviet leadership's line in the foreign policy sphere, including the sphere of disarmament and achievement of lasting peace. The process of changes in the USSR as confirmed by the conference, stated FRG Foreign Minister H.-D. Genscher, will have a positive effect on the development of not only the Soviet Union but also of international relations as a whole, and primarily East-West relations.

But other voices, as if coming from the past, could also be heard in the stream of responses and commentaries. The bourgeois press in the West published either implied or more openly expressed "regrets" that our party retains the role of Soviet society's vanguard. THE WASHINGTON POST itself perceived in the conference's results not the Soviet people's common desire to restructure their life but "profound differences within the leadership" on the question of how these changes are to be achieved. The French LE FIGARO appealed that the Soviet leadership not be trusted because there is no hope that the USSR would pursue "a more favorable" policy toward the West. It was seconded in distant Australia Adelaide's THE ADVERTISER, which declared that "it is too early for the Western world to fully abandon its suspicions" of the Soviet Union. Britain's conservative SUNDAY TELEGRAPH published a strange commentary entitled "The Hidden Threat of Russian Democracy." No more and no less, as the saying goes. Some people still nurture vain hopes of imposing their will on us. THE SUNDAY TIMES took it upon itself to claim that "without the West's help, restructuring's chances of success are virtually zero" and appealed that advantage be taken of this "opportunity" in order to dictate to us our defense policy.

I have no intention of refuting all the critical remarks made about us in the past few days. It is certainly useful to take a detached look at ourselves even though, for fairness' sake, we have to note that this criticism largely repeats what we actually say about ourselves. But it would not be amiss for all those in the West who are busy analyzing our development to bear this in mind: The CPSU and the Soviet people did not embark on restructuring in order to please someone else. We are restructuring our economy and our political mechanism on the basis of our socialist values and our needs. Moreover, we are looking at the world from positions of new thinking, and it is on the basis of this new thinking that we self-critically appraise our foreign policy activity. Such new thinking, a realization of interdependence in the contemporary world, must also be adopted by the West.

The 19th party conference decisions note the importance of the measures to strengthen internationalist collaboration with socialist countries. The cooperation between fraternal countries is an important factor for their development. The experience accumulated in this sphere and the fraternal peoples' real needs have put on the agenda the immediate task of enhancing the intensification of the national economy of states united within CEMA and transferring it to a qualitatively new technical and technological base, to the resource-saving path of development. CEMA countries agree that the development of cooperation and economic socialist integration and the international socialist division of labor are acquiring growing importance in their political and economic life.

The 44th meeting of the CEMA session, held last week in Prague, was devoted to the discussion of these problems. Its work was distinguished by a critical approach toward the present state of mutual ties between socialist countries and the elaboration of specific ways for their expansion. The approval of a collective concept of international socialist division of labor in 1991-2005 was an important step in this direction. The sitting noted that the practice of socialist building has brought our countries face to face with the need to organically combine centralized plan regulation with increasingly broad utilization of commodity-money levers. The coordination of national economic plans, as CEMA countries decided in Prague, will take into account the stipulations of the aforementioned collective concept. Confirmation was also given to the accord, previously reached between CEMA members, on the gradual creation of conditions for the free movement between them of commodities, services, and other production factors in pursuit of the long-term goal of forming a united market.

The CEMA decisions envisage further improvement of the machinery of multilateral cooperation, whose purpose is to boost the efficiency of socialist countries' economic activity for the sake of our peoples' prosperity.

It is a fundamentally important fact that the CEMA countries reaffirmed their stance in favor of radically restructuring the entire system of economic ties on a fair and democratic basis, establishing a new international economic order, and ensuring the international economic security of all states.

The socialist countries' desire to actively cooperate with everyone in the world economic arena was expressed in the recently signed joint declaration on the establishment of official relations between CEMA and the EEC. The participants in CEMA's Prague sitting described this as the first step in the development of relations between two major international economic organizations. Its importance is not only economic but also political, because it is meant to make a weighty contribution toward the implementation of the CSCE Final Act, to promote economic growth and social progress, and to further improve the political climate in Europe and the world.

Alarms and Hopes [subhead]

Peoples on the planet are following events in Afghanistan with the same tense attention. The Geneva agreements on a political settlement for Afghanistan were brought into operation almost 2 months ago. The Soviet Union continues to withdraw from Afghan territory the personnel of the limited contingent of its troops, who are performing an internationalist mission there. The course of national reconciliation remains the main political avenue of actions by the authorities of the Republic of Afghanistan. The formation of a government of the Republic headed by Muhammad Hasan Sharq, a politician who was well known before the 1978 revolution, became a factor in the stabilization of the situation within the country. The government's program was discussed at the recently concluded session of the National Council, a parliament which was elected last spring on the basis of the principles of national reconciliation. The vote of confidence that was given focuses the government's efforts on the cessation of the fratricidal war and restoration of peace.

But this is just one aspect of the situation in Afghanistan. The other aspect is the fact that the armed Afghan opposition is continuing to create tension in the country, and people from among the civilian population are becoming its victims.

The activeness of extremist groups is directly linked with the fact that they receive support from outside in contradiction of the Geneva agreements. Responsibility for these breaches lies with the Pakistani authorities. The Afghan side has already given 40 notes on these Pakistani actions to the UN mission that monitors the fulfillment of the Geneva agreements.

Confirmation of the permanent contacts between the Islamabad leaders and the so-called "transitional government" of Afghan oppositionists, set up by the "Alliance of the Seven" on Pakistani territory, have recently come to light. The Pakistani president himself, who assigned to Afghan counterrevolutionaries the task of taking power within 6 days after the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and establishing an "Islamic state" there, had a meeting with the leadership of the Afghan armed opposition. Sometime in late June the governor of the Pakistani city of Quetta held a conference with Afghan oppositionists, instructing them to intensify their work at Afghan refugee camps to recruit refugees for opposition activity and prevent their return home, and calling on them to step up sabotage on Afghan territory. It was in that same city of Quetta that Afghan extremists were given arms supplied by the United States, including Stinger missiles, 120-mm mortars, antitank shells, and so on.

Some other countries also act against the Geneva agreements, creating obstacles in the path of their fulfillment. According to data from the Republic of Afghanistan, 45

foreign advisers, including three Americans, four West Germans, two Frenchmen, and one Chinese, have arrived on Afghan soil in areas controlled by the insurgents.

How is all this to be reconciled with Pakistan's pledges under the Geneva agreements not to allow its territory to be used for violations of Afghanistan's sovereignty and national unity, and to facilitate the voluntary, orderly, and peaceful repatriation of Afghan refugees? And how are the U.S. actions compatible with the desires expressed by the United States in Geneva to ensure respect for Afghanistan's sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, and status as a nonaligned state, as indicated in the Declaration on International Guarantees which was signed by the United States?

National reconciliation is the only sensible way to solve the Afghan problem. Outwardly, this is guaranteed by the Geneva accords. It is self-evident that anyone who violates them is taking on grave responsibility for the consequences, for deceiving the Afghans' hopes for a peaceful life.

Pirates With Missiles [subhead]

Hit by missiles from the U.S. cruiser "Vincennes," an Iranian airline Airbus with 298 people on board plunged into the waters of the Persian Gulf and caused a wave of indignation in the world.

What are the factors behind this tragedy? Vestiges of the traditions of the Wild West, when people shot first and asked questions later? Intoxication with power and confidence of impunity? Political blindness which leads to the heightening of tension, to a dangerous game involving human lives, and to the threat of military conflicts? Or all of these things?

The haste with which Washington declared the incident "closed" astounded many people. Unpleasant astonishment was also caused by the attempts made in London to justify the American actions. But neither of these moves worked in practice. The U.S. Administration is still having to continue to investigate the incident, and the British prime minister's legalistic speech added fuel to the flames of the condemnation of the United States, rather than defending the prestige of the American ally.

But let us return to the question of who bears the blame for the tragedy in the skies above the Persian Gulf. The responsibility of the captain of the "Vincennes, of course, is no less than the responsibility of those who once bombed residential areas of Vietnamese cities or committed the terrorist act against Tripoli. But the main burden of blame lies with the "architects" of U.S. policy. The buildup of U.S. military forces in the Persian Gulf in no way took place for the sake of freedom of shipping. It was carried out in the interests of American policy and was designed to establish American control over this region.

Our country has repeatedly warned about the danger which the concentration of this American military might poses for the development of events in the Persian Gulf. The warnings were not heeded. And now the blood of the dead is on the hands of those who refused to listen.

But there is something else that is even more astounding than the incident itself—the intention to continue the previous policy. Pentagon "investigators" are currently trying to blur the circumstances of the tragedy in every way, putting forward various arguments about the Iranian aircraft's course, altitude, and radio signals. It can even be supposed that, having termed what happened an "accident," they will ultimately place the blame for the practical action on the actual victim. Don't fly where you shouldn't, is the argument!

A great deal has changed in the world in recent years. It can be said that the euphoria of confidence that only weapons can save the world has manifestly waned. It is now becoming clearer that to strengthen peace what is needed is peaceful means, political actions, and awareness of the responsibility of playing with weapons.

The incident involving the Iranian aircraft and the behavior of those responsible for the tragedy shows that this awareness is slow in coming. But in the avalanche of condemnation of the crime, those with ears to hear must—have an obligation to!—heed the demand of the times.

Paper Reports on Diplomats' Talk at Plant

PM1107155588 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 8 Jul 88 First Edition p 5

[Report by S. Andreyev and A. Makhov: "Diplomacy Lesson at Plant; Meeting Which Became Possible After the 19th Party Conference"]

[Text] Let's begin with a brief interview with USSR Pilot-Cosmonaut Svetlana Savitskaya.

"I think," she said, "that this meeting became possible only after the 19th party conference, which consolidated our successes on the path of democratization and glasnost. This form of discussion is useful to both sides. After all, direct communication between ministry leaders and labor collectives is mutually enriching."

Along with other members of the presidium of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace, S. Savitskaya was attending a meeting organized by the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace in a shop of Moscow's S. Ordzhonikidze plant. An unprecedented meeting: Moscow workers' questions were answered by Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister, Deputy Ministers A.A. Bessmertnykh and I.A. Rogachev, and other Foreign Ministry officials.

They were listened to with interest. We did not see on faces an expression of submissive patience, of yearning for the end of the latest "event." Nor were there attempts to doze throughout the proceedings. Rather the reverse.

Question from the auditorium: "What is the Foreign Ministry doing to release the Soviet prisoners of war in the hands of the armed opposition in Afghanistan?"

"At present, according to more precise figures, there are 312 Soviet soldiers who have been taken prisoner or are missing," Yu.M. Vorontsov replies. "We know that some of them have died, but many are being kept prisoner, including on Pakistani territory. We are conducting dialogue with the International Red Cross and have frequently raised this question with the Pakistani side. I personally have discussed it with President Ziaul Haq and the latter has promised to help. But so far the Pakistanis have "failed to find" our soldiers on their territory. On the other hand Americans have found them. We are well aware that four of our boys are in the United States, but so far we are not allowed to meet with them. The fate of these boys is complex. They are frightened, they are under control. And one (we know this in detail) has actually ended up in a U.S. prison for 'conduct unbecoming.' Our consulate in San Francisco is seeking an opportunity to visit him there. We are now using every channel for our boys' return home and I think we will achieve it."

The talk turns to the problems surrounding the Persian Gulf. The workers ask the leaders of Soviet diplomacy to assess the actions of the U.S. side, which shot down the Iranian passenger liner.

"Here is what it means to use weapons so far from your shores," Vorontsov says. "The point is that the U.S. Navy arrived in the Persian Gulf by no means at someone's invitation. There are now three dozen powerful U.S. ships in the Gulf. A month ago I flew over the Persian Gulf in precisely the place where the present tragedy was played out. From above, the Gulf looks like dumpling soup, there are so many warships there. The United States has already used weapons in the Gulf on several occasions on various pretexts.

"Our common and my personal opinion is that the U.S. Navy is not needed there. It is dangerous in that small gulf. Other incidents might occur. What opportunities do we see for establishing peace in the Persian Gulf? First of all, ending the Iran-Iraq war. But until that happens, it is essential to create a UN military fleet to ensure the passage of civilian ships. The UN Charter does not prohibit this."

One of the plant workers rises from his seat:

"When the South Korean aircraft which violated our airspace was shot down, a storm of protest was unleashed in the West. Why, now that the Americans have destroyed an Iranian Airbus flying an international route, above international waters, is the Soviet public keeping quiet?"

Those taking part in the meeting decide to adopt a statement. In mourning the victims, it says, we appeal to all people of good will to do everything possible to ensure that reason and restraint prevail over the militarist ambitions of the NATO strategists, and that the obstacles be cleared from the path to peace and security in the Persian Gulf.

From the platform of the 19th party conference mention was made of a certain prejudice among some delegates against the press. The press also has its prejudices and one of them, for a journalist specializing in international affairs, is that the leaders of the USSR Foreign Ministry take amiss the newspapers' open and keen opinions on international affairs.

In our country, it was said at the meeting, everything printed on the newspaper page is interpreted as the opinion, the position of the state. The Foreign Ministry defends the interests of our foreign policy and it is understandable that it is not in these interests to "insult" any state or leader of any country. On the other hand, it is the duty of the mass media to give their audience the fullest and most truthful account possible of events and situations, regardless of how it will be received in the country in question. Where is the way out of this contradiction? Perhaps the time has come to accept as proper the idea that anyone who wants to know the official viewpoint should seek it in documents, TASS reports, and so forth. An article signed by a journalist should reflect above all the viewpoint of its author.

This was commented on by Yu.M. Vorontsov, who said that it is this approach which is supported by the Foreign Ministry, but that almost every time an article is published touching sharply on some country, we have to receive that country's ambassador and explain that everything which has so perturbed him is only the author's viewpoint.

But perhaps this talk is interesting mainly for the the professionals immersed in these problems, who are conducting them?

Yu.N. Vlasov, design engineer in the main designer's department: "The idea of the meeting is a good one. But it would be better if we had succeeded in having a direct conversation, not speeches and answers to questions, because this form is too academic. In my opinion they were late in announcing the meeting at the plant and perhaps we too should have prepared for it. For similar meetings in the future, it would be very useful and interesting to meet with historical scholars. At present there is a marked vagueness in our historical ideas and

young people are beginning to display a nihilistic attitude toward our country's past. Of course, it would be interesting to meet also with party and state workers to discuss the subject of our democracy's development."

Young workers, tuners Aleksandr Antoshkin and Andrey Novikov: "We have heard many new and interesting things. But there has also been quite a lot of general talk far removed from our interests. In the future it would be good to meet with leaders of the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, to talk about fundamental questions affecting everyone and about particulars. For instance, about how to reconcile the obvious importance of transferring to three-shift work with the fact that someone who works at night in our plant for a month receives R10 more than day workers. And here is a ready-made question, not international but domestic: Is it worth spending dozens of months without sleeping normally, and essentially without your family?"

B.A. Mikhalev, power repair shop foreman: "This meeting is being filmed for television and too much has been done here in the interests of showing it on television and not for the matter itself. For instance, why hold the meeting in a shop? Surely that is purely a television gimmick.

"And another thing. The speakers have many domestic concerns. A frank talk, dialogue, or discussion would be more interesting. We are tremendously interested in how the 19th party conference worked, in what the delegates said in the breaks, and how they assessed the most graphic speeches. Our director was a delegate—he should have told us about this. Then we would have had more questions today and they would have been different. After all, each collective has its sore points in restructuring and wants to discuss them...."

And what do those who spoke at it think of the meeting? Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister, speaks: "For us it was a very useful experience, the first but, I hope, not the last. We spoke today about the people's diplomacy. In terms of its content this meeting was a notable event. I think that the effectiveness of the people's diplomacy will depend directly on the level to which its participants are informed. The questions from the machine tool builders showed that this level is growing. When they simply ask, they want to know, and when they criticize and offer advice, that means they know and want this knowledge to become useful to all. For a professional diplomat it was difficult to be precise and extremely open among a workers' audience, but we tried to be precisely these things. In our professional work the term 'diplomatic subterfuge' is used with deserved respect—it is a legitimate part of the diplomatic arsenal. Here there could be no question of any subterfuge, only the truth. As the next step we have invited the plant's workers and employees to the Foreign Ministry to see how our diplomacy works every day."

Accord on Navigation, Rescue System Welcomed

PM0507093188 Moscow TRUD in Russian 3 Jul 88 p 3

[TASS report: "Agreement on COSPAS-SARSAT Program"]

[Text] Paris, 2 Jul—An agreement on COSPAS-SARSAT—the international experimental space system to locate ships and aircraft in distress—has been signed in Paris by representatives of the USSR, the United States, France, and Canada. The document was signed for the Soviet side by O.A. Savin, USSR deputy minister of the maritime fleet.

Intensive cooperation between the four countries to set up an international space system was begun 10 years ago. The Soviet "Cosmos 1383" satellite, which was the first satellite in the joint system, was launched 6 years ago and actually began operating in 1982. Since then 1,100 people have been saved thanks to COSPAS-SARSAT.

Two Soviet and two U.S. satellites "listen" around the clock for signals emitted in the event of a disaster by special emergency radio beacons that are fitted to aircraft and ships. These beacons are also carried by some expeditions of geologists, climbers, and scientists.

The signing of the agreement concludes the organization of the COSPAS-SARSAT global satellite search and rescue system. In particular, the agreement sets out the purposes for which the system is being set up, contains a general description of it and the conditions for participation, regulates financial issues, and describes the organizational structure.

The international satellite system, which serves the noble aims of rescuing people and promoting the acceleration of scientific and technical progress by pooling the efforts of different states, exemplifies the great potential of international cooperation in space exploration for peaceful purposes. It is worth noting that the achievement of the agreement between the representatives of the four countries on the organization of the COSPAS-SARSAT system was welcomed in the Soviet-U.S. statement published on the results of the Moscow summit.

Satellite Communication Seminar Opens

LD1107121688 Moscow TASS in English 1201 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 11 TASS—Representatives of some 50 African countries will take part in a seminar on satellite communication which began its work at Moscow's World Trade Centre today.

The seminar was organised by the USSR Ministry of Communications which holds it in Moscow once in two years on the instructions of the United Nations.

"This is the second such seminar held in Moscow for representatives of African countries," Yuriy Zubarev, USSR deputy communications minister, said at the opening ceremony.

He said that for the first time the seminar would include reports by experts from Austria, Czechoslovakia, India and several international organisations.

"This provides convincing proof that scientists in various countries are interested in developing mutually beneficial space cooperation," Zubarev emphasized.

The participants in the seminar will discuss questions related to creating space systems and prospects of developing satellite communication. Soviet experts will show their best achievements, including digital television.

The seminar will last till July 14.

United States & Canada

Reagan Orders Nicaraguan Diplomats Expelled

LD1207193588 Moscow TASS in English 1919 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Washington July 12 TASS—President Ronald Reagan on Tuesday ordered Nicaraguan Ambassador to the USA Carlos Tunnerman and seven other Nicaraguan diplomats expelled from the United States. Reagan said this was the answer of his administration to the Sandinist government's decision to expell U.S. envoy to Managua Richard Melton and seven other U.S. diplomats. The Nicaraguan Government had explained its decision by their interference in Nicaragua's internal affairs and incendiary activity. Reagan refused to rule out severing U.S. relations with the Nicaraguan Government, saying it "remains an option".

Official representative of the White House Marlin Fitzwater said the Nicaraguan diplomats ordered out of the USA should leave the country within 72 hours.

Airbus Incident 'Tragedy Waiting To Happen'

Aegis 'Never Properly Tested'

PM1207104788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS reports under general heading "There Is No Justification for the Crime. Around the Incident with the Iranian Airliner in the Persian Gulf"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] New York, 9 Jul—The complex Aegis electronic air defense system on the cruiser "Vincennes," whose data was used by the ship's commander to give the order to launch the missiles against the Iranian airliner, was never properly tested. This is reported by AP, which referred to a secret report by the U.S. Congress General Accounting Office. In particular, the system's potential in detecting and identifying various targets was not completely tested. Nonetheless, the news agency notes, the U.S. Department of the Navy ordered it to be taken into service and continues to build up the fleet of cruisers fitted with Aegis. [passage omitted]

U.S. Versions Doubted

PM1207110188 [Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 July 1988 Morning Edition carries on page 5 three correspondent dispatches under the rubric "Facts, Events, Opinions" and the general heading "On the Tragedy in the Persian Gulf."

A Washington dispatch from own correspondent A. Blinov headed "Nebulous Versions" reads, in full:

"The U.S. paper THE WASHINGTON POST called the Pentagon's series of versions of the tragedy in the Persian Gulf a 'nebulous distortion' of the facts."

"The original explanation, given by Admiral W. Crowe, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, did not even stand up to a cursory comparison with the facts.

"The Pentagon has now said that the admiral made an unwarranted assertion that the Iranian airliner had deviated from the corridor allocated to civil aircraft. In fact, as even U.S. military officials have now admitted, at the time of the tragedy it was flying 4 miles from the center of the corridor, which is 20 miles wide. The admiral also wrongly claimed that the cruiser had not received the aircraft's call sign. The version about there allegedly being another Iranian aircraft in the air did not last long either.

"The claims that the aircraft was threatening the cruiser were unwarranted. According to the latest data, 'Vincennes' had not registered any attempts to fix a radar beam controlling weapons systems on it. The airliner had not descended toward the cruiser, as Crowe had originally claimed, but had been gaining height.

"Pentagon spokesmen also gave very nebulous replies to the question whether or not the cruiser had been listening in to radio conversations between the airliner and airport traffic control. The Iranians assert that these conversations lasted 21 minutes and made it clear that it was a civil flight.

"'The closer we look at the story, the more holes we see in it,' Patricia Schroeder, member of the House of Representatives, said, summing up all the contradictions. 'A combination of incorrect information and omissions still shrouds the facts of the tragedy like a fog,' THE WASHINGTON POST points out.

"The Americans themselves are the main targets of the Pentagon's disorientating explanations. As public opinion polls have shown, over 70 percent of the U.S. population excuse the cruiser capitan's actions. Even an administration spokesman was forced to say that this reaction to the tragedy was the result of a 'negative attitude toward the Iranians.' According to THE WASHINGTON POST again, a Republican close to the administration remarked in this connection: 'Had it been, for example, a British aircraft, the reaction would have been different.'"

There follows an "IZVESTIYA Press Service" report entitled "Computer Error?", which reads:

"The Pentagon has set up a special commission to study tape recordings of electronic data from the computers on board the cruiser 'Vincennes.'

"This was announced by the U.S. television company ABC. The tapes have been sent to the naval center in the state of Virginia, where they will be analyzed to ascertain whether an error had been made in the programing.

"Some experts are already voicing definite doubts about the accuracy and efficiency of the Aegis electronic air defense system which launched the missile attack on the Iranian airliner. CBS Pentagon correspondent D. Martin managed to find out that during the clash with Libya in 1986, the U.S. cruiser 'Yorktown,' also equipped with the Aegis system, launched two missiles at a target which, on the basis of electronic evidence, it believed to be a Libyan patrol craft, but which was in fact a shoal of fish.

"The Senate continues to discuss the possible reasons for the tragedy of Flight 655. According to a number of senators, the main reason is the administration's incorrect policy.

"'I believe the administration should review its position in the region. We cannot afford any more shocks of that kind,' R. Byrd, leader of the Democratic majority in the Senate, said. 'Perhaps we have given our naval forces an impracticable task,' Republican Senator J. Warner noted.

"The black public figure J. Jackson said at a press conference at UN headquarters in New York that it is necessary to rely not on military might but on diplomatic efforts to settle the situation in the Persian Gulf. He called for a strengthening of the role of the United Nations in the quest for a solution of the crisis in the region."

The final item is a Kuwait dispatch from own correspondent V. Shevchenko entitled "Tehran Promises Restraint", which reads:

"The destruction of the Iranian airliner is the direct result of the U.S. military presence in the Persian Gulf, which is placing the numerous international air and sea routes there in jeopardy, Mansur Sattari, commander of the Iranian Air Force, said.

"In the week prior to the tragic incident there had been more than 1,000 civil flights over the Persian Gulf. In these conditions any careless action by the United States could lead to tragic consequences. An airbus can easily be distinguished from a military aircraft on a radar screen, and if someone is incapable of doing so, he should not be operating the equipment. Indeed, human lives depend on his decision, M. Sattari stressed.

"Judging by reports from Tehran, Iran has decided to exercise restraint in connection with the tragic incident. A. Hashemi-Rafsanjani, acting commander in chief of the Iranian Armed Forces and speaker of the Iranian Parliament, said that the United States wants to incite Iran to carry out acts of terrorism, but we will try to refrain from such steps to avoid giving them the opportunity to accuse us of international terrorism."

'Blind Faith' in Computers

PM1207142188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Gan dispatch under the rubric "Echo of Events: Rumors and Facts": "A Tragedy Waiting To Happen"]

[Text] Washington, 10 Jul—"The longer we look, the more holes we see"—these words by Patricia Schroeder, member of the House of Representatives, sum up quite accurately the first results of the investigation now being conducted here into the U.S. act of terrorism over the Persian Gulf.

It is hard to detect any pangs of conscience in what is being written and said on the banks of the Potomac. The investigation which has begun into the circumstances of the tragedy pays lip service to shocked world public opinion rather than being the result, let us say, of national shock, consciousness of blame, and repentance. If we strip the wordy shell from the thrust of Washington's statements, a repulsive picture is revealed. In this respect the note expressing "profound regret" which President Reagan sent to Iran has changed nothing. The authorities at all levels are still seeking to justify the cruiser "Vincennes'" barbarous missile salvo and to substantiate the "correctness" of the actions of W. Rogers, its captain. Inside the country, moreover, the administration has succeeded in seizing the propaganda initiative and securing public support for itself by encouraging chauvinism and anti-Iranian sentiments. According to a poll jointly conducted by the newspaper USA TODAY and the Cable News Networking television company, 75 percent of Americans approve of the "Vincennes" captain's decision, and 61 percent pin the responsibility on... Iran.

And this is hardly surprising, for the essence of Pentagon spokesman D. Howard's daily statements boils down to claims that Iran must bear all the responsibility because it sent, so he says, a civilian aircraft into a combat zone.

This argument is just as spurious as it is arrogant. They endeavor to hush up the fact that approximately 100 civilian flights a month are made in the air corridor between the Iranian city of Bandar 'Abbas and Dubayy, capital of the United Arab Emirates, in which the Iranian aircraft was downed, while in June there were more than 160 flights in all. Under pressure from objective evidence, the Pentagon was indeed forced to abandon its claim that the Iranian Airbus was far outside the air corridor, since it was infallibly established that it was attacked while virtually at the center of the space allocated for flights. Yes, every argument of theirs has a no less weighty counterargument. Thus, the version according to which the A300 was supposedly descending as it approached the cruiser, "as though preparing to attack," does not stand up to criticism. Even if you brush aside the opinion cited in newspapers here of specialists who consider that "no pilot in his right mind would attack a

ship in this way," the fact that the Airbus had climbed from 12,000 to 14,000 feet, as recorded by ground services, can be ignored only deliberately.

In other words, during the past week more questions arose than answers were given. Questions which resemble deliberate attempts to "put people off the scent." Some things are to be elucidated in this regard by the group of six U.S. Navy investigators who have already been on board the "Vincennes" and taken evidence under oath from the captain and crew as to how they could mistake a slow-moving passenger Airbus for an F-14 fighter. At present the investigators, who are obliged to present their report to the Pentagon and President Reagan within 2 weeks, are analyzing the cruiser computer system's information at a U.S. Navy center in Virginia.

Technology is undoubtedly a complex thing. Particularly a system such as Aegis, with which the cruiser "Vincennes" is equipped and which is considered the most advanced in the world, making it possible to "get a fix" on 100 air targets simultaneously. Until the Iranian Airbus was fired at, the system was routinely referred to as none other than "21st century technology."

It is also possible quite justifiably to speak of blind faith in the "U.S. computer miracles" which are being used to force through the unpredictably dangerous "Star Wars" program—do its apologists really seem to find it hard to imagine that one mistake by supercomputers could sound the death knell for the planet and turn it into lifeless cosmic garbage?

In their statements both the President and his entourage unanimously grieve over "the loss of human lives" and "the dramatic incident." The CBS-TV company has reported that President Reagan is even inclined toward deciding to pay compensation to the families of the dead.

In short, attempts are being made to appear before the world as such a "highly moral" power "accidentally" involved in the killing of 298 people. Attempts are being made somehow to link this with the South Korean Boeing whose reconnaissance flight was interrupted over Soviet territory in 1983. Of course, no comparisons, analogies, or parallels are appropriate here. Washington can in no way lay claim to the "legality" of its action in barbarously destroying human lives many thousands of kilometers from its own borders. In the case involving the USSR—and this has already been proven even by Western experts—it was a question of putting a stop to a spy flight organized by the U.S. special services, which had continued for a whole 2 hours over our territory close to secret military installations.

Incidentally, the tragedy of Flight 655 certainly did not happen over U.S. territorial waters. Precisely this, in my opinion, is the answer to the cardinal question, the only one that is to the point: What led to the 3 July deaths of people who suspected nothing? Whatever starry-eyed, touching words are now spoken in Washington, the Airbus passengers cannot be brought back to life. But a repetition of such tragedies can be prevented. According to U.S. press data, more than 30 U.S. warships are now concentrated in the Persian Gulf.

The concentration of U.S. naval might in the region has sharply heightened tension. It is not for nothing that even here people are calling the destruction of the A300 a tragedy which was "waiting to happen."

Church Leader Issues Statement

LD1107233988 Moscow TASS in English 1852 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 11 TASS—Believers of the Russian Orthodox Church grieve the tragic death of passengers of an Iranian airliner shot down by missiles from a U.S. cruiser in the airspace over the Persian Gulf, says a statement of Metropolitan Filaret of Minsk and Belorussia, chairman of the Department of External Church Relations of the Moscow Patriarchate. Whatever the concrete circumstances of what has happened, they emphasize again the danger of the concentration of the armed forces in the region, the document says.

The tragedy that has taken place in the skies over the Strait of Hormuz is a direct evidence of the fact that the escalation of the foreign military presence in this troubled area of the globe has long since surpassed any reasonable scopes, the religious figure said. The risk of a disaster such as the one that had happened, or even of a greater scope will undoubtedly exist until this explosive area is rid of the accumulation of military forces, and Iran and Iraq, involved in a bloody conflict lasting over many years, end hostilities.

The statement of the representative of the Russian Orthodox Church says that the danger of the Persian Gulf situation was pointed out by broad circles of the international public more than once. The Soviet Union and all who are for peace and genuine settlement to the long drawn-out conflict in the Middle East expressed their views on this matter. "The perishing of hundreds of passengers of the Iranian airliner is another grim reminder about the urgent need to take every possible measure to stop actions contradicting the elementary standards of international law and demands of human morality and to prevent such actions in future, no matter who takes them", Metropolitan Filaret said.

U.S. Tries To 'Kindle' Iran-Iraq War

LD1207154288 Moscow TASS in English 1451 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 12 TASS—TASS political observer Askold Biryukov writes:

After taking a decision on the payment of compensation to the families of those who perished as a result of the bandit actions of the U.S. naval ship in the Persian Gulf,

U.S. President Ronald Reagan still tried to again justify it and even expressed satisfaction over the U.S. policy in that region. At the same time, he blamed the direct participants in the Iranian-Iraqi conflict for the tragedy that took place through the fault of the United States. The President said that the termination of the Iranian-Iraqi war was allegedly the objective of the U.S. However, he continued, the U.S. Armed Forces will go on with its mission in the region.

It is obvious that these statements contradict one another. It is also obvious that the U.S. played a special part in the continuation and even kindling of the armed conflict in the region. In fact, the dispatching of a U.S. naval armada to the Persian Gulf, far from promoting the safety of navigation in the Persian Gulf, put in jeopardy the safety of air traffic in the region, as it became clear today. U.S. massive military presence in the region added a new quality to the threat to peace and security not only in that region, but in the world in general. It is fraught with unpredictable consequences and many members of the world community, as well as many Americans who realize it, demand that the U.S. Administration revise its "gunboat diplomacy".

One could recall in this connection other facts refuting the allegation of the President to the effect that the termination of the Iranian-Iraqi war is the objective of the U.S. policy in that region. A final report of special commissions of U.S. Congress that investigated into the "Irangate" affair clearly said that in August 1985 the President had taken a decision to the effect that the U.S. would permit arms sales to Iran. As a result of the President's decision a number of deals were closed on arms deliveries to Iran which continued for 15 months. It hardly looks like a suitable contribution to attaining the noble goal of the termination of the Iranian-Iraqi war proclaimed by Washington.

American newspapers wrote some time ago that the U.S. had supplied participants in the military conflict taking place in the area of the Persian Gulf with the information obtained by spy satellites. They even cited a cynical statement of the late William Casey, head of the Central Intelligence Agency, to the effect that if part of the information received by any of the warring parties proved to actually be misinformation, there was nothing really wrong about it.

These action can be described only as adding fuel to fire. The impression is that the real objective of Washington is to kindle the war which provides it with a convenient pretext for maintaining its military presence in the Persian Gulf.

The growing level of tension in the Persian Gulf emphasized the urgent need for the withdrawal from there of the naval forces of the countries not belonging to that region. The buildup of the naval presence of the U.S. and its allies in the Persian Gulf and near it aggravates further the already tense situation.

Shultz Economic Aid 'Carrot' to Philippines

LD1207144388 Moscow TASS in English 1411 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Tokyo July 12 TASS—The future of the Pentagon's bases in the Philippines will dominate talks to be held with that country's leadership by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz who has arrived there on an Asian-Pacific tour.

The bases include the two largest U.S. military facilities outside America—the Clark Field Air Base and the Subic Bay Naval Base, where over 16,000 U.S. servicemen are stationed on a permanent basis, not counting tens of thousands of ancillary personnel.

The lease on these facilities expires in 1991. Bilateral talks on their fate in the Philippine capital have been deadlocked and Washington is doing all it can to secure a new agreement.

Speaking in the Indonesian capital before flying to Manila, Shultz said the facilities were very well-equipped and advantageously located and their transfer would create a very complicated problem.

He claimed that the idea of a U.S. departure from South East Asia was unthinkable.

Commenting on those remarks, wire services said neither the Association of South East Asian Nations in general nor most of its members individually had voiced any public support for continued American military presence in the Philippines.

The U.S. secretary of state is dangling a multilateral economic aid program as a "carrot" before that country. The package, as seen by its Washington's sponsors, is to be funded to a significant degree not by the United States but by its allies, most notably Japan.

Commenting on the initiative, news analysts point out that it is the rapacious policy of American monopolies and the country's lopsided reliance on the United States that has led the Philippines into its economic crisis.

U.S.-Israeli Naval 'War Games' Exercise Reported

LD1107214388 Moscow TASS in English 1817 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] Damascus July 11 TASS—On Sunday five American ships under the flag of Admiral Kendall Murphy, commander of the U.S. Sixth Fleet, arrived in the Israeli port of Haifa. They have 7,000 U.S. servicemen on board.

In the opinion of analysts in the Syrian capital, the U.S.-Israeli joint naval exercise had been planned as a demonstration of muscles to the Arab world. Indicative

is the fact that the war games are being held at a time when the world community was shocked by the cold-blooded downing of an Iranian passenger plane by a U.S. warship.

Akhromeyev Addresses Pentagon News Conference

LD1307044488 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 12 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Marshal of the Soviet Union Akhromeyev, chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces and USSR first deputy minister of defense, has completed his official visit to the United States. He was in that country at the invitation of Admiral Crowe, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the U.S. Armed Forces.

[Begin recording] [V. Dunayev, identified by screen caption, standing in the Pentagon] Normally I conduct reports from outside the Pentagon, with a view of it in the background. But now, for the first time, I am speaking from the inside of the Pentagon. If I had been told on starting my job here three years ago that one day I would see our red flag in the Pentagon and that our marshal would be the guest of a U.S. admiral here, I honestly would not have believed it.

A joint conference is being held in the Pentagon by Marshal Akhromeyev, chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces and USSR first deputy defense minister, and Admiral Crowe, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the U.S. Armed Forces. They are summing up the results of the 6-day official visit.

[Akhromeyev] We have activated the plan for military contacts between the Soviet and U.S. armed forces for the 1988-90 period. We have agreed on the content of a joint statement on the work of Soviet-U.S. groups on preventing dangerous military activities by the two sides' armed forces in regard to one another.

[Dunayev] The Soviet marshal observed marine exercises at (?New Yure) Air Base. Weapons systems and flights by carrier-based aircraft were demonstrated to the chief of General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces on board the aircraft carrier Theodore Roosevelt. At Fort Hood in Texas, the USSR first deputy defense minister observed military exercises by the U.S. Army. I have in my hands the itinerary of the visit: instead of receptions and dinners it consists of an inspection of the B-1 strategic bomber and the Minuteman training complex. If it includes dinner, then, as is noted here, it is in field conditions. Not only I, but all the journalists were excited not so much over the text of the joint statement and the plan for future exchanges—although those too, of course, are important—as by the extraordinary fact itself of a red flag and a Soviet marshal in the Pentagon. [Video shows Akhromyev and Crowe addressing journalists; Dubinin also there; shot of Pentagon exterior] [end recording]

USSR-U.S. Talks on Humanitarian Issues Open

LD1107122888 Moscow TASS in English 1106 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 11 TASS—A "round table" discussion of prominent Soviet and American experts on humanitarian issues opened in Moscow today. The agenda covers various aspects of the functioning of the rule-of-law state, especially in criminal justice and judicial proceedings.

The meeting was opened by Anatoliy Adamishin, USSR deputy foreign minister and Richard Schifter, U.S. assistant secretary for human rights and humanitarian [affairs]

Both sides expressed interest in improving their knowledge of each other's legal systems as an element of knowing the realities of the life of Soviet and American societies and switching from confrontation to cooperation in the humanitarian sphere in conditions of openness and mutual respect.

U.S. Trident-2 ICBM Test Failure Noted

LD0807130788 Moscow TASS in English 1159 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Washington July 8 TASS—On Thursday a test by the United States of a submarine-based intercontinental ballistic missile Trident-2 ended in a failure.

A spokesman of the U.S. Air Force said that the missile had been destroyed a minute after its launching from Cape Canaveral (Florida state) on an order from the proving ground. The reason for the misfire is not known for the time being.

The Trident-2 missile designed for arming atomic submarines of the Ohio class has 12 nuclear warheads. It is planned that each of these atomic submarines will carry 24 such missiles.

The test was the 13th out of 20 planned launchings of this first nuclear-strike missiles from Cape Canaveral. Two of them were a failure.

It is also planned after this series to carry out test launchings of missiles from submerged submarines.

Northeast Asia

PRK National Reconciliation 'Successes' Noted

LD1007095488 Moscow TASS in English 0846 GMT 10 Jul 88

[Text] Phnom Penh July 10 TASS—TASS correspondent V. Novikov reports:

The successes achieved by the People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK) over the nine years of people's power, and the national reconciliation program adopted

here last year have an increasing effect on people who were drawn into counterrevolutionary groups by force or deception. Many of them return home and rejoin their families.

The leadership of the PRK has stated that all members of the opposition who have voluntarily returned to Kampuchea will not be persecuted and that all civil rights are guaranteed for them.

The SPK news agency reported that, over the first half of the current year alone, the number of those who gave themselves up became 2,200. Quite often whole armed detachments which are infiltrated into Kampuchean territory take the side of the people's government.

'USSR Festival Days' Held in DPRK Capital

PM0707113188 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 7 Jul 88 Second Edition p 3

[M. Zakharchenko report: "USSR Festival Days in DPRK: Good Tradition"]

[Text] Pyongyang—The now traditional USSR Festival Days in the DPRK designed to acquaint Korean working people more closely with the life of Soviet people opened yesterday in Hamhung, the administrative center of Hamgyong-Namdo Province. This year RSFSR achievements will be displayed on Korean soil to mark the 27th anniversary of the conclusion of the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance Between the USSR and the DPRK. A TASS correspondent has reported this to SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA.

Speaking at a rally held yesterday in Hamhung's Grand Theater to mark this event, O.I. Lobov, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, stressed that Soviet-Korean relations have long been an important factor reliably serving the interests of peace and socialism and ensuring the maintenance of stability in the Korean peninsula and the Asia-Pacific region as a whole.

Exhibitions of graphic and applied arts, children's drawings, books, and photographs will be held during the USSR Festival Days in Hamgyong-Namdo province. Soviet feature films, documentaries, and cartoons will be shown in this province's cities and Kemerovo Oblast's "Kuzbass" Dance Company will perform there.

Possible North-South Student Exchanges Viewed

SK0607050488 Moscow International Service in Korean 1330 GMT 28 Jun 88

[Text] According to a report from Seoul, the South Korean Government and its ruling party are contemplating the possibility of a large-scale exchange of college students with the DPRK. Lebedev, our station reporter, writes on this issue as follows:

The decision of the South Korean authorities to accede to the demand of the democratic forces for establishing contacts with the DPRK quite surprised the observers, for no mentioning of exchange was possible early June. Some (?20,000) policemen were mobilized to suppress the college students' (?demonstrations) calling for a meeting with the college students of the DPRK to discuss the issue of the Korean reunification. Truncheons, tear gas, and mass arrests were the answer of the Seoul authorities to this demand of the college students who demonstrated under the slogans "Let us achieve the reunification of the country," and "The Americans, the fundamental ringleader of the Korean division, should withdraw from South Korea."

Then what happened? The South Korean authorities seem to have made a concession, promising their cooperation with the students' contact with the North, in an effort not to allow the nationwide student demonstrations to go out of control. Now in Seoul, the possibility of free exchange of opinion on the issue of North-South reunification under the influence of the democratic forces is being made, placing emphasis on the need for cooperation instead of competition.

As YONHAP reported, the Seoul authorities are planning to contact the delegates of the DPRK to discuss the issue of making an exchange of college students numbering 500 to 1,000. This possibility was discussed in a series of meetings of the DJP.

The ruling party is also studying the possibility of realizing the exchange between artists, sportsmen, and religious figures.

Apart from this, there is news that the South Korean people are having free access to reports of the DPRK and other socialist countries. In the southern half of Korea, distribution of this sort of reports has been banned by regulations for over 40 years. We will need to see more where these developments will lead to. But we can definitely say that if this is not the [words indistinct] (?tactic) of the Seoul authorities, the realization of its realistic policy toward the DPRK will conform to the interest of the Korean reunification and to the alleviation of tension on the Korean peninsula.

As is well known, the leadership of the DPRK has always appealed to the South Korean authorities to conduct constructive dialogue. This leadership has repeatedly proclaimed that it will not stop trying to normalize the Korean situation.

South Korean President's 'Unification' Proposals

LD0807084188 Moscow TASS in English 0715 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] London July 7 TASS—South Korea's president No Tae-u has made a national television statement, setting forth proposals for normalising the situation in the Korean peninsula. "I believe that now we have

approached a time in history when we should find a possibility of having a breakthrough towards establishing durbale peaces and unification in the peninsula on which there is still a threat of war".

The REUTER news agency reports that No Tae-u declared for the beginning of exchanges of visits of politicians, businessmen, religious workers, athletes, journalists of the North and the South of Korea and also Korean trips to relatives residing on the other side of the border. In his statement South Korea's president stresses the need for establishing trade relations inside the Korean peninsula and putting an end to "confrontation in the international scene".

Tokyo July 7 TASS—A report from Seoul of the South Korean news agency YONHAP says: No Tae-u said that his administration will continue efforts aimed at establishing contacts with the USSR, China, and other socialist countries. He said Seoul intended also to promote normalisation of the DPRK's relations with Western states, including the United States and Japan.

General Secretary of the Cabinet of Ministers of Japan Keizo Obuchi in a special statement greeted today No Tae-u's proposals. At a press conference in Tokyo he said that his government was ready for negotiations with the DPRK on improvement of bilateral relations. Meanwhile Keizo Obuchi notified that "at the given stage" Tokyo does not intend to lift earlier introduced discriminatory sanctions against the DPRK.

New York July 7 TASS—Commenting today on the statement made by South Korea's president on North-South relations, the newspaper THE NEW YORK TIMES writes that this testifies to a major change in Seoul's policy vis-a-vis the DPRK.

Addressing the esteemed 60 million countrymen, both in the North and South of Korea, the newspaper recalls, No Tae-u underlined that Seoul will impel its allies for establishing relations and expansion of trade with North Korea. The president said he would allow contacts between representatives of the North and the South of Korea at international forums. He promised to establish relations with communist countries, for instance China and the Soviet Union, noting that his statement also has the aim to convince these countries which maintain relations with North Korea that Seoul is changing its foreign policy. The world is now entering an era of reconciliation and cooperation which are above ideologies and political systems, he said.

Ryzhkov, Mongolia's Sodnom Sign Accord in Moscow

OW0607152688 Ulaanbaatar International Service in English 0910 GMT 4 Jul 88

[Text] The Mongolian prime minister, on his way to Prague, made a stopover in Moscow. There, on 2 July Mr Sodnom, together with the Soviet counterpart, Nikolay Ryzhkov, signed a concert on developing foreign and economic ties between Mongolia and the Soviet Union up to the year 2005.

The concert outlines the basic direction of cooperation in the sphere of material production, science and technology, and the training of Mongolian personnel and utilization of labor resources, and the development of nonproductive spheres and augmentation of socialist (?sources, whatever it be).

Following the signing of the document, Sodnom addressed [word indistinct] at the friendly meeting during which the Mongolian Government had said that Mongolia warmly feels that successes of the Soviet people in implementing the party's (?specific) course at revolutionary restructuring of (?both the Soviet society) life, exploration of the country's socioeconomic progress, and consolidation of peace and normalization of the international situation.

The two men voiced mutual satisfaction over the state of fraternal cooperation between Mongolia and the USSR and underlined the need to augment it further in the interest of the two states and the successful implementation of the socioeconomic progress [word indistinct].

Official Praises Agreement

LD0507223688 Moscow TASS in English 1457 GMT 5 Jul 88

[Text] Ulaanbaatar July 5 TASS—The concept for the development of foreign economic relations between the two countries for the period ending in the year 2005, which was signed in Moscow at a level of the heads of the Mongolian and Soviet Governments, is a document of great political and economic importance, said Puntsagiyn Jasray, deputy chairman of the Mongolian Council of Ministers, in an interview with a correspondent of the newspaper "UNEN".

The document provides for comprehensive measures aimed at [word indistinct] organization of Mongolia's economic structure and development of integration relations between Mongolia and the USSR, he said.

The Soviet Union will render Mongolia assistance in implementing a large-scale programme for social development.

"A rise in efficiency of the republic's social production is also a top priority task in our cooperation," noted P. Jasray, this process is also promoted by perestroyka in the USSR, including measures to renovate the system of foreign economic relations, as well as implementation of economic changes in Mongolia.

Direct production relations will be expanded, and establishment of joint ventures will be continued.

"The concept confirms again that the friendship of our peoples, all-round Mongolian-Soviet cooperation and internationalist assistance of the land of the Soviets have been and remain the decisive factors for Mongolia's development and raising material well-being of Mongolian people," said the deputy chairman.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

ASEAN, Jakarta 'Cocktail Party' Previewed

BK1207090688 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1330 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Yuriy Solton commentary]

[Text] In their conference in Bangkok, the ASEAN foreign ministers were very unequivocal in their support for the political settlement of the Cambodian conflict. Such a stance, in principle, deserves endorsement and support.

Our commentator, Comrade Yuriy Solton, writes: However, in my opinion, I just cannot agree with some steps that the ASEAN ministers proposed for implementation. I mean the informal meeting scheduled to be held in Jakarta at the end of this month between the four Cambodian parties. This meeting itself, as I understand it, is very significant. But what is worrisome is that the ASEAN leaders wanted to turn this meeting into negotiations between Vietnam and the representatives of Cambodia's different political factions. Such a proposal has invited strong opposition.

Vietnam whose Army volunteers are helping to defend Cambodia's sovereignty cannot be interpreted as one of the Cambodian political groups. As I understand it, it is completely reasonable that Phnom Penh and Hanoi have taken a negative attitude toward such a stance by the ASEAN foreign ministers. Vietnam and Cambodia have proposed an entirely different, reasonable way which politically speaking is the correct one. They proposed that in the initial stage of the Jakarta meeting, only the Cambodian parties concerned would meet and discuss Cambodia's internal problems; then, in the second stage, Vietnam and Laos together with Indonesia, Thailand, and other ASEAN countries would join the representatives of all the Cambodian parties in discussing the international aspect of the Cambodian conflict and the question of consolidating regional stability.

The path toward peacefully normalizing the Cambodian conflict has been laid out. The people's power in Cambodia has been strengthened as the national reconciliation policy implemented by Cambodia is bearing fruit. Although the situation in the country is still plagued with some difficulties, present-day Cambodia is capable of taking care of the defense of its own independence. This has resulted in the speeding-up of the withdrawal of Vietnamese Army volunteers from Cambodia. By the end of this year, some 50,000 Vietnamese combatants will have been withdrawn from Cambodia and returned home. Positive changes have also taken place in the regional situation.

In summary, there are indeed specific prospects for the political settlement of the Cambodian problem. What is important is that we must not allow the emerging chance to slip through, concluded our commentator, Comrade Yuriy Solton.

Further on Meeting

LD1207133788 Moscow TASS in English 1224 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Phnom Penh July 12 TASS—The foreign ministers of Vietnam and Kampuchea have confirmed the determination to complete the withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteer troops from this country by the year 1990.

During a special meeting of the foreign ministers of Kampuchea, Vietnam and Laos here, the attendees, commenting on the results of a recent get-together of the foreign ministers of the ASEAN nations in Bangkok, condemned the intention of some of its participants to turn the planned informal meeting of the Kampuchean sides in Jakarta into talks between Vietnam and representatives of the Khmer opposition.

The foreign ministers of Vietnam and Laos reiterated the readiness of their countries to take part in the second round of the planned meeting together with Indonesia, Thailand and the other ASEAN members.

It was stressed that it is only representatives of the Kampuchean sides that should participate in discussing the domestic problems of Kampuchea at the first round of the meeting.

The sides declared the readiness of Kampuchea, Vietnam and Laos to apply efforts for the political resolution of the Kampuchean problem and for making Southeast Asia a zone of peace.

Gromyko Talks With Lao Ambassador Reported

PM1207154588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Lao Ambassador Received"]

[Text] A.A. Gromyko received Khamphong Phanvongsa, ambassador of the Lao People's Democratic Republic [LPDR] to the USSR, in the Kremlin 5 July at the latter's request.

It came to light in the course of the talks that the purpose of the ambassador's visit was to obtain firsthand information on the results of the 19th all-union party conference and to discuss the state of Soviet-Lao relations and some international questions relating to countries in the Asia and Pacific region.

A.A. Gromyko spoke about the course and results of the 19th all-union party conference, whose decisions were published precisely on the day of his meeting with the

Lao ambassador. The chief question submitted for the delegates' consideration was the all-embracing democratization of life in Soviet society and the possible broadening and deepening of the restructuring process. The conference revealed the firm conviction of its participants and of the whole party that the action program formulated by the 27th CPSU Congress and enriched by the already accumulated experience of restructuring retains its force and meets with the Soviet people's full support.

A.A. Gromyko and K. Phanvongsa voiced satisfaction with the state of Soviet-Lao relations and pointed out that the close comradely ties and cooperation between the CPSU and the Lao People's Revolutionary Party [LPRP] and the regular meetings between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Kaysone Phomvihan, general secretary of the LPRP Central Committee and chairman of the LPDR Council of Ministers, are of determining significance for strengthening the bonds of friendship and further deepening bilateral relations. K. Phanvongsa confirmed the unity of the views of the USSR and the LPDR on fundamental present-day problems and emphasized the positive influence of restructuring and glasnost in the Soviet Union on the entire atmosphere of international relations, as well as on Lao domestic and foreign policy. The ambassador examined in detail the whole range of relations between Laos and contiguous states. In this he singled out his country's friendly relations with fraternal Vietnam and Cambodia.

These three countries' constant cooperation in the international arena, their leaders' regular meetings, their orientation toward strengthening cooperation with other socialist countries—all this makes a tremendous contribution to the strengthening of security in the region, as well as to world security. The strengthening of relations of trust among the three countries' peoples is a genuine example of equitable cooperation among states.

The Lao ambassador dwelt on the recent SRV and PRK initiative for the withdrawal of 50,000 Vietnamese volunteers from Cambodia in 1988. This political act will undoubtedly help to strengthen peace and security in the Asia and Pacific region and to eliminate hotbeds of tension there.

The way to resolve the Cambodian problem, A.A. Gromyko pointed out, is for the opposing sides to conduct a dialogue in the spirit and on the basis of the principles of national reconciliation. We note with satisfaction that certain positive moves have recently been made on the way to resolving this problem. The Soviet Union supports the steps taken by the countries of Indochina and other interested states with a view to seeking solutions to the conflicts in that region with due regard for the actual state of affairs in and around Cambodia and for the Cambodian people's interests.

On behalf of the government and people K. Phanvongsa expressed gratitude to the Soviet Union for the specific assistance which it gives in developing the Lao national economy.

A.A. Gromyko wished K. Phanvongsa, who took up his post as Lao ambassador in Moscow just 1 month ago, the worthy and efficient fulfillment of his duties.

Present at the talks were USSR Deputy Foreign Minister I.A. Rogachev and Sen Tyan and Som Di, diplomatic staffers at the Lao Embassy in the USSR.

Australian Senate Speaker Visits Supreme Soviet

PM1307083188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Friendly Talk"]

[Text] Yu.N. Khristoradnov, and A.E. Voss, chairmen of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities respectively, met with K.W. Sibraa, speaker of the Australian Senate, 8 July. In a friendly talk the guest was briefed on the socioeconomic transformations taking place in the USSR in the atmosphere of glasnost and the democratization of all spheres of Soviet society's life, and on the results of the 19th all-union party conference.

K.W. Sibraa noted that the changes taking place in the life of the Land of the Soviets are generating great interest everywhere. They are reflected in international affairs and are having a positive impact on the situation in the Asia-Pacific region as a whole and on Soviet relations with the countries located there, including Australia. A mutual desire to further develop and strengthen bilateral ties between the Soviet and Australian parliaments was expressed.

Taking part in the talk were E.L. Kuzmin, chief of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium International Affairs Department; and R. Ashwin, Australian ambassador to the Soviet Union.

The guest laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin Wall the same day.

Gromyko Receives Australian

LD1207234188 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1655 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 12 TASS—President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Andrey Gromyko received Australian Senate Speaker Kerry Walter Sibraa in the Kremlin today.

At the guest's request, Andrey Gromyko, at the start of the conversation, summed up the state of and prospects for Soviet-Australian parliamentary ties. He expressed satisfaction over the fact that they have been established and declared for their broader and more intensive continuation.

The guest inquired: Do you think that the policy of restructuring will continue to be implemented after the party conference which has taken place in the Soviet Union?

Yes, undoubtedly, replied Andrey Gromyko. The changes that are under way in our country and in our society are very serious. We were firmly resolved to carry out the policy toward restructuring, but after the 19th all-union party conference we are involved in this work with even greater vigor. It is a matter of changes in the economy and in the social sphere, in cultural life, and also in the sphere of science and technology.

In accordance with the guest's wish, he was told about how the Soviet Union is striving to develop relations with Japan. Their state is lower than the level of relations of the Soviet side would like to have.

There are a lot of people in Japan who soberly assess the situation and wish to develop ties between the two countries. Regrettably, there are those who try to stall the development of Soviet-Japanese relations advancing unjustified claims to the USSR.

Responding to the guest's request, Andrey Gromyko also dwelt on the situation in the Asia-Pacific region and ways of achieving detente and stability in that area. Such a state of things could be achieved if the number of naval ships in the area decreased and conditions were created for vigorous and unhampered cooperation of states of that vast region.

The proposals for the creation of Asia-Pacific security have been set out in Mikhail Gorbachev's known speech in Vladivostok. Their implementation is, certainly, a difficult task, but a feasible one if there are concerted and vigorous actions.

Kerry Walter Sibraa recalled that it was precisely Australia that showed initiative in concluding the treaty on turning the southern part of the Pacific Ocean into a nuclear-free zone.

In reply to this, Andrey Gromyko said that the Soviet Union actively supported such a fine undertaking. In Moscow attention had been drawn to the recent statement by the Australian leaders—Prime Minister R. Hawke and Minister of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade W. Hayden—on the Pacific Ocean problem. In our estimation, it is in line with the Soviet initiatives.

The interlocutors also discussed a number of regional problems, specifically the situation regarding Cambodia and the situation in southern Africa. The policy of national reconciliation proclaimed by the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the withdrawal of 50,000 Vietnamese servicemen from that country that has been started—these measures are aimed at the improvement of the situation. The Soviet side noted their importance.

The stands of the Soviet Union and Australia with regard to the South African regime are largely similar. Both countries condemn the apartheid system. The guest from Australia said that his country had established diplomatic relations with Angola, was rendering assistance to independent Mozambique, had applied sanctions with regard to air services with the RSA and largely curtailed economic cooperation with South Africa.

Discussing the problems of Soviet-Australian contacts, Andrey Gromyko recalled the Soviet Union's concrete steps for their development. "The exchanges taking place at the level of heads of a number of ministries and agencies in the areas of economy, culture, information, science and sports, already create the necessary fabric of bilateral cooperation. And this, in turn, promotes the strengthening of confidence and mutual understanding between the two countries and enables us, despite the different social systems, to look for points of contact, ways of interaction in questions of consolidating peace", Andrey Gromyko said.

Andrey Gromyko emphasized in conclusion the importance of matters of banning nuclear weapons and of disarmament. The aim of the Soviet policy is ultimate creation of a world without nuclear arms. The results of the Soviet-American summit in Moscow and the conclusion by the USSR and the USA of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles give the hope for a fundamental turn toward nuclear disarmament and will undoubtedly be promoting the solution of other cardinal questions of the present.

Kerry Walter Sibraa welcomed the conclusion of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles as an initial step toward a nuclear weapons-free world and expressed the hope that the role played by the Soviet Union in the creation of the system of regional security in the Asia-Pacific region will be growing.

The conversation passed in an open and friendly atmosphere.

Further Reportage on Kamentsev Travels

Holds Talks in Malaysia

PM1307083388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS reports: "Delegation's Tour"]

[Text] Canberra, 9 Jul—V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Foreign Economic Commission, who is on an official visit to Australia, presented a gift from the USSR Supreme Soviet to Australia's supreme legislative body on the occasion of

the country's bicentenary in the new parliament building. The Palekh box depicting the Moscow Kremlin was gratefully accepted by J. Child, speaker of the House of Representatives of the Australian Parliament.

V.M. Kamentsev gave a press conference.

Kuala Lumpur, 8 Jul—On its way to Australia, the Soviet delegation paid a brief working visit to Malaysia. Meetings and talks with Deputy Prime Minister Baba Abdul Ghafar, Minister of Trade and Industry Aziz Rafidah, and Minister of Primary Industries Keng Yaik Lim were held in Kuala Lumpur.

V.M. Kamentsev and Baba Abdul Ghafar exchanged the ratification instruments to the agreement to preclude dual taxation signed during the official visit to the USSR of Prime Minister Mohamed Mahathir of Malaysia in the summer of 1987.

Comments on Singapore Talks

PM1307081788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Developing Cooperation"]

[Text] Singapore, 11 Jul—The visit to Singapore by the Soviet Government delegation headed by V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Foreign Economic Commission, has ended. The delegation was received by S. Dhanabalan, Singapore's minister of foreign affairs and national development. In the course of the talks that took place the sides discussed the status of and prospects for the development of bilateral relations and exchanged opinions on topical international problems.

In response to a TASS correspondent's question on the prospects for the development of Soviet-Singapore ties, V.M. Kamentsev said: "Our relations with Singapore are already into their 4th decade, however, we see great prospects for their further development not only in the sphere of trade but also in the sphere of production cooperation. Two of our joint companies—'Sinsov,' which services Soviet ships, and 'Marissko,' which processes sea products—are already in operation in Singapore. This cooperation must be further developed. We want this to happen. The meetings in Singapore showed that the Singapore side also wishes this."

Assessing the prospects for Singapore-Soviet cooperation, S. Dhanabalan, Singapore's minister of foreign affairs and national development, said in an interview with a TASS correspondent: "We welcome and follow with great interest the Soviet Union's recent steps in the sphere of economic restructuring. We hope that this will extend opportunities for the development of trade and economic relations between our countries. I hope to discuss these questions with Soviet leaders during my upcoming visit to Moscow."

During his stay in Singapore V.M. Kamentsev was familiarized with the activity of the joint Soviet-Singapore enterprises and had meetings with the representatives of the country's business circles.

The Soviet delegation flew home today.

Near East & South Asia

Pakistan Reportedly Plans To Invade Afghanistan

LD1207211488 Moscow TASS in English 1500 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] New Delhi July 12 TASS—Pakistani Army units are readied for direct participation in combat operations against the Afghan army. Acting President of the People's National Party of Pakistan Haji Ghulam Billour said that President Ziaul Haq planned staging an invasion of Afghanistan by Pakistani troops masquerading as Afghan opposition groups. General Ziaul Haq is soon likely to commit the Pakistan Army to storm and capture Jalalabad and Qandahar before marching on to Kabul, the newspaper HINDUSTAN TIMES quotes the prominent Pakistani opposition leader as saying.

The plan of the invasion of Afghanistan by Pakistani troops directly depends on the U.S. foreign policy in the region, the newspaper notes.

More on 'Mercenaries'

LD1107134088 Moscow TASS in English 1217 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] Kabul July 11 TASS—Despite heavy losses and complete failure of their attempts to capture the district centre Spin Buldak in Qandahar Province, the irreconcilable opposition, operating with direct support of the Pakistani authorities, does not abandon plans to break the will of the defenders of the town.

According to available data, preparations are under way on the Pakistani side of the border with Qandahar Province for another military act by extremist groups which enjoy support of the Pakistani regime. An artillery unit was moved from Quetta into the border railway juncture Chaman, Pakistan, on July 7 to provide fire support for the mujahidins in the area of Spin Buldak. The number of tribal armed groups, which earlier took part in combat operations near Spin Buldak on the side of extremists, has increased on Pakistani territory in the same makeshift arms depot was set up in the open in the area of Shamshattu to ensure supplies for the forthcoming sorties by Afghan mujahidins [sentence as received]. American and Arab advisers have been frequenting the area of Chaman where they help plan more effective combat operations of the armed opposition in Qandahar Province.

By late June, Quetta and Chaman were visited by a number of military leaders from the seven-party alliance based in Peshawar, who discussed the possibility of

repeating a major operation in the area of Spin Buldak after July 25. According to the plans of Pakistanis and their charges the attack should be spearheaded against Spin Buldak and the dominating Rudsakay Height [place-name as received], which, if captured, will enable to use heavy guns to shell Qandahar airport.

Under the guidance of the current leader of the Seven-Party Alliance, head of the National Islamic Front of Afghanistan Sayyed Ahmad Gaylani, commanders of the armed opposition groups from Qandahar, Helmand, Farah, Oruzgan, Zabol and representatives of refugees and tribe elders held a meeting in one of the districts of Qandahar Province. The meeting favoured uniting the Durrani tribe and installing in power former King Zahir Shah. At the same time the main directions of combat operations by the groups involved in capturing Spin Buldak were elaborated during the meeting. Gaylani noted that Pakistani authorities had promised to provide mujahidins with artillery support from the border areas and from tribal units. Coordination of combat operations in the area of Spin Buldak was entrusted to one of the commanders of a Pakistani regiment, Colonel Shaukata [name as received].

At the same time far from all opposition commanding officers, including Gaylani's supporters, support the decision, favouring, in particular, establishing control over Spin Buldak by peaceful means.

Gaylani's son was sent in late June to the area of Wesh [place-name as received], a hundred kilometres south east of Qandahar, where he reaffirmed at the meeting of opposition forces from provinces Qandahar, Helmand, Farah and Zabol that Pakistani authorities intended to render direct assistance in implementing the plans of capturing Spin Buldak.

The irreconcilable opposition continues to build up military activity in other regions of the country. In early June the leader of the extremist Islamic Party of Afghanistan (IPA), Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, was in Lowgar Province to take part in planning military actions against government troops. At the same time Yunus Khalis, who heads an IPA faction, arrived with the same purpose in Sorkh Rud District, Nangarhar Province.

A 90-man IPA detachment arrived on July 3 from Pakistan in the area 15 kilometres north east of the town of Sharikar in Parvan province with a shipment of weapons. A terrorist group consisting of 25 militants from the Islamic Union for the Liberation of Afghanistan was infiltrated from Pakistan on July 5 into the area of Wudiheil [place name as received], 23 kilometres north west of Kabul. The group underwent special military training. They have Soviet military uniform and the uniform of the Afghan Army and the Ministry of the Interior. It was assigned the task of penetrating into Kabul for staging a series of terrorist acts.

The armed groups of the opposition shelled between July 7 and 9 various settlements in Afghanistan on 38 occasions and staged 11 attacks on the posts of government troops and militia in provinces Kabul, Bamian, Ghazni, Vardak, Konduz, Lowgar, Parvan and others. Heavy artillery shelling left 40 people killed and 101 wounded, including women and children. In addition, 31 people were killed and 45 wounded in an explosion that occured on a crowded street in Jalalabad.

Nearly 300 Arab mercenaries arrived in the area of Shineh-ye Maqbul [place-name as received], Khowst District, in early July. Their task is not only to distribute weapons among the armed opposition and control its activities in waging combat operations against government troops but also to prepare the shelling of the battalions of the Afghan border troops and to block the Khowst-Jaji Meydan road.

Pakistan Warned

LD1207163088 Moscow TASS in English 1423 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 12 TASS—TASS news analyst Valeriy Vavilov writes:

Islamabad continues violating the Geneva accords, and these violations assume ever more sinister forms. While earlier, contrary to the assurances of the Pakistani leaders about their "sacred loyalty to the Geneva accords" Islamabad was merely "assisting" actions of the armed opposition and "tolerating" their presence on its territory, supplying armed groups with weapons and ammunition from its own arsenals and promoting their training and dispatch into Afghanistan, press reports now show that Pakistani Army units are being readied for direct participation in combat operations against the Afghan Army. There are press reports that Pakistan's President Ziaul Haq gave a sanction for such an invasion of Afghanistan by Pakistani troops. The press quotes a leader of the Pakistani opposition as saying that Ziaul Haq will send Pakistani troops to storm and seize Jalalabad and Qandahar before a march toward Kabul.

The armed opposition draws up plans of the seizure of some cities in districts from which Soviet troops have already been withdrawn. But the leaders of the "Peshawar Seven" clearly lack forces and skills, and so they count on direct support by the Pakistani Army. According to press reports, commandos shortly plan to conduct an operation to seize the city of Spin Buldak and the Pakistani command decided to assist them. For this purpose the 21st Artillery Division of the Pakistani Armed Forces has already been moved from Quetta to the border line point Chaman. The division has been given an assignment to support by fire an operation of mujahidins. A temporary arsenal has already been set up in the area. The operation will be supported by Pakistani paramilitary units of militiamen. A Pakistani colonel,

the commander of one of the regiments of the Pakistani Army, will organize interaction of all the forces, including Afghan commandos and Pakistani military units and units of militiamen.

And the leaders of the "Peshawar Seven" Hikmatyar, Gaylani, striving to intensify the operations of their forces, promise them effective support by the Pakistani Army.

Islamabad has so far been either denying, or passing in silence, or at least trying to justify by religious considerations, "the struggles of Moslems for the faith and Allah against the communist regime of Kabul" the fact that Pakistani citizens took part in the war against the lawful Afghan authorities. And what about the present when interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs is about to assume forms of outright military conflict with the use of armed forces against the Kabul regime?

If this is so, then President Ziaul Haq is in for serious trouble and he should realise what risks he is taking. Apparently they in Islamabad fail to realise what serious consequences can be entailed by direct participation of the Pakistani Armed Forces in that conflict. They should stop while it is not too late. The Geneva accords on peaceful settlement should be observed by all the parties to them, and direct interference of the Pakistani Armed Forces will not only sharply complicate the atmosphere but can also impart to the situation a very dangerous unpredictable character, also for Islamabad.

Vorontsov Summons Envoy

PM1307130788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 July Second Edition p 5

[TASS report on the 12 July meetings between USSR First Deputy Foreign Minister Yu.M. Vorontsov and the Pakistani charge d'affaires ad interim in the USSR and U.S. Ambassador J. Matlock: "In Connection With the Violation of Commitments"]

[Text] USSR First Deputy Foreign Minister Yu.M. Vorontsov summoned Pakistan's charge d'affaires ad interim to the USSR Foreign Ministry on 12 July and made the following statement:

"We have already repeatedly drawn the attention of the Pakistani leadership to the continued violation of their commitments under the Geneva agreements.

"The establishment of a so-called transitional government of Afghanistan on Pakistani territory by the Afghan opposition was another gross violation of these accords. It obviously contradicted the commitments assumed by Pakistan under the bilateral Afghan-Pakistani agreement on the principles of mutual relations, in particular on non-interference and non-intervention, above all Clause 4 of Article II in accordance with which the territory of the contracting parties should not be used to disrupt the political, economic and social stability of the other contracting party.

"By allowing the establishment of the 'Transitional Government' of the Afghan opposition on its territory, Pakistan violates such commitments under the agreements as observance of the principle of non-interference in each other's domestic affairs and renunciation of actions to subvert the political order of the other party.

"This action, which whips up an atmosphere of confrontation in the approach to domestic Afghan problems, is very far from the sides' readiness, recorded in a statement by Diego Cordovez, personal representative of the U.N. secretary-general, at the signing of the Geneva agreements, to facilitate the Afghan people's striving towards elaborating broadly acceptable measures towards creating a government on a wide basis, and to support and facilitate this process on the understanding that any questions relating to the Government of Afghanistan constitute the subject of Afghanistan's exclusive jurisdiction and can be resolved only by the Afghan people themselves.

"So one ever clearly discerns the tendency from Islamabad to work not for a curtailment of interference in internal Afghan problems, but to build up and escalate it. Whereas in the past the Pakistani leadership tried in every way to stress its adherence to Geneva, to deny concrete facts of its violations of the Geneva accords, now, by practically sanctioning the new step to formalise on its territory the rebels which strive to overthrow by force the country's lawful government in Kabul, it so to say openly signifies its intention to act counter to these accords.

"In these conditions, the balance of the commitments of the sides which forms the basis of the accords reached in Geneva becomes increasingly brittle, thus putting in doubt the implementation of the entire set of measures connected with the political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan. The Pakistani leadership will bear the responsibility for all the consequences of the unceasing violation by the Pakistani side of the Geneva accords".

On the same day, Yuliy Vorontsov made a verbal representation to the U.S. ambassador in the USSR, Jack F. Matlock. He stated in particular that the Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan had repeatedly presented irrefutable facts showing that after the entry into force of the Geneva accords, Pakistan not only had not stopped but, in violation of its commitments under these agreements, was continuing and even intensifying its interference in internal Afghan affairs. The creation by the Afghan opposition of the so-called Interim Government of Afghanistan on Pakistani territory has become a new destructive action along this road.

This course of action by the Pakistani leadership undermines the balance of commitments of the sides that forms the basis of the accords reached in Geneva and puts in doubt the implementation of the entire set of measures to achieve a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan.

We hope, it was stressed in the representation, that the United States of America, realising the seriousness of the developing situation and as a guarantor of the Geneva accords, will employ its entire influence to impress upon Pakistan the need to ensure a termination of interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs and a strict observance by Islamabad of the commitments it has undertaken under the Geneva accords.

Qandahar Governor Describes Rebel Seige

LD1207152388 Moscow TASS in English 1305 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Quotation marks as received]

[Text] Kabul July 12 TASS—By TASS correspondents Yury Tyssovskiy and Aleksandr Snastin:

"Following the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Jalalabad, Nangarhar Province, and the abortive attempts by extremists to capture the city, the armed opposition leaders decided to establish control over Qandahar Province," the provincial governor-general, 'Abdul Haq Ulumi, has stated.

"They launched their first attack in Spin Buldak District by concentrating there large forces: more than three thousand men armed by Pakistan with Western-made weapons," he told the TASS correspondents at his residence in the provincial capital, the city of Qandahar.

"The Pakistani authorities, in violation of the Geneva agreements, backed the opposition forces with artillery fire. Pakistani long-range artillery based in Chaman shelled our positions. Up to 1,500 s[illegible]ls dropped on Spin Buldak in one day.

The extremists even used chemical mines in the border regions. But they failed to seize Spin Buldak, even with assistance from foreign adivsers.

As to Qandahar, they intended to capture it in twenty-four hours. As you see, these attempts failed," said the governor-general.

"Opposition units suffered heavy losses in the fighting for Qandahar, Spin Buldak, Arghandab and Maywand, which undermined the morale of the extremist group members," he observed.

"The population could see once again that the rebels were capable of nothing but malicious and senseless terror. Tribes and districts send their representatives to Pakistan to demand that the opposition leaders cease senseless bloodshed."

Ulumi described a keen conflict on a tribal basis within the opposition forces. "The biggest Qandahar tribes of Durrani and Ghilzai refuse to obey orders by 'alien' extremist leaders, like Gulbuddin Hikmatyar of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan and other leaders of the Alliance of the Seven.

Ever more rank-and-file members of armed groups are beginning to doubt the slogans advanced by the irreconcilable opposition."

Soldiers Given Send-Off in Afghanistan

LD1207204388 Moscow TASS in English 2021 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Kabul July 12 TASS—Units of Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan returning home were given a send-off in the city of Feyzabad, the centre of the Badakhshan Province, today. Speaking at the meeting, member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan Najmuddin Kawiani, local leaders and representatives of the population warmly thanked the Soviet soldiers for disinterested internationalist assistance and wished them safe return home.

Officers and men who distinguished themselves the most were presented with state Afghan awards.

Iran Urged To Adapt 'Constructive Stand'

NC1207161088 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The UN Security Council is to meet on 12 July to consider the United States' culpability in the tragedy in the skies of the Persian Gulf. The acting Iranian representative to the United Nations, Mohammad Ja'far Mahalati, called for this session. The Iranian representative has asserted that the Security Council should put an end to international acts such as the U.S. Navy's savage killing of the passengers of the Iran Air plane, condemn this savage act, and call for the withdrawal of the U.S. Navy, which is involved in terrorist acts, from the Persian Gulf.

Iran's demands are legitimate. Such tragedies should be eliminated from the world. The United Nation's role in ensuring security in the Persian Gulf and other world hotbeds should be increased. As the victim, Iran should be compensated for the tragic outcome of the crime by the (?imperialists') military. Necessary conclusions should be drawn from this tragedy, conclusions that can help resolve regional conflicts in the world.

However, one cannot ignore the fact that officials and the mass media in some Western countries and UN Security Council members view this tragedy only as the outcome of the U.S.-Iranian confrontation. They want to see the Security Council session become a propaganda duel between Washington and Tehran, a duel at which the other Security Council members would be spectators.

In this regard it is very important that Iran adopt a constructive stand. It is clear to all that the tense situation in the Persian Gulf is a direct outcome of the continuing Iran-Iraq war. It was exactly on the pretext that this war threatened to spread to adjacent areas that Washington deployed its huge fleet in the area. It is exactly on this pretext that Washington raises among Arab Gulf countries the specter of the so-called Iranian threat and imposes its mandate on them.

What is the Iranians' approach under these conditions? Unfortunately, attacks on tankers and cargo ships by Iranian speedboats armed with missiles strengthen U.S. propaganda about the Iranian threat. Iran's reportedly continued mining of Persian Gulf waters also has a negative impact on the situation. And finally, the fact that Iran's official representatives constantly put forward at the United Nations conditions which prevent the realization of Security Council Resolution 598 does not benefit Iran.

Washington exploits all these negative elements in Iran's policy to justify its military presence in the Persian Gulf. But this presence leads to tragic incidents, such as the killing of the passengers aboard Iran's A-300 plane by a missile launched from the "USS Vincennes". The U.S. military's crime was a crude violation of international law and actually a manifestation of hostility toward Security Council Resolution 598, which demands that all sides refrain from acts that may exacerbate the situation. However, Iran's efforts to capitalize on the isolation of the United States in the wake of this horrific crime can in no way help normalize the situation. The time has come for Iran to actively and (?logically) help the UN [word indistinct] efforts toward ending the war.

The Soviet Union believes that in order to move toward an improvement of the situation, all military ships of nonlittoral countries should leave the Persian Gulf and a UN navy be sent to the area. The Soviet people take no satisfaction in the fact that the trend of events in this area—against which Moscow had warned—fulfill their dire predictions.

U.S., Iran Exchange Fire in Persian Gulf

LD1207215888 Moscow TASS in English 2124 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Washington July 12 TASS—An exchange of fire between U.S. helicopters and Iranian military boats took place in the Persian Gulf today. This was announced by the Pentagon's spokesman Dan Howard.

He said two helicopters from guided-missile frigate of the U.S. Navy, Nicholas, were sent to give assistance to the Panamanian tanker "Universal Monarch" that was sending out distress signals. Some 15 nautical miles from the Iranian island Farsi they were strafed from machine-guns by two boats.

The Pentagon spokesman said that the U.S. helicopters returned the fire. They fired several rockets at the boats. He said it is not known if the rockets hit the targets. He said that not one of the U.S. helicopters was damaged.

Iraqi National Assembly Speaker Arrives 11 Jul

JN1107162688 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1255 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, 11 Jul (INA)—Dr Sa'dun Hammadi, RCC member and National Assembly speaker, arrived here today at the head of an Iraqi delegation on a visit to the Soviet Union to attend celebrations to be held by the Soviet-Iraqi Friendship Society on the friendship days, which will last 2 weeks.

During his 4-day visit, Dr Hammadi will hold talks with Soviet officials on Iraqi-Soviet relations, developments in the Iranian aggression against Iraq, and issues of common interest.

Upon arrival in Moscow, Dr Sa'dun Hammadi was received by Valentina Tereshkova, CPSU Central Committee member and chairman of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries, and officials at the Soviet-Iraqi Friendship Society.

The delegation comprises a team for popular arts, which will stage shows during these celebrations.

Meets With Vorontsov

LD1207163188 Moscow TASS in English 1522 GMT 12 Jul 88

Moscow July 12 TASS—Member of Iraq's Revolutionary Command Council and President of the National Council Sa'dun Hammadi was received today by First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR Yuliy Vorontsov. Sa'dun Hammadi is staying in the USSR on the occasion of days of Soviet-Iraqi friendship.

The conversation passed in a friendly atmosphere and centered on the present situation in the Iran-Iraq conflict.

Yuliy Vorontsov confirmed the Soviet Union's principled position in support of the speediest ending of the war between Iran and Iraq and stressed the importance of moving on to concrete practical steps directed at implementing in full volume the Security Council's Resolution No. 598.

Both sides expressed satisfaction with the state of the friendly Soviet-Iraqi relations and the prospects of their further development.

Polyakov Attends Meeting

JN1207134888 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1152 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, 12 Jul (INA)—Sa'dun Hammadi, RCC member and Iraqi National Assembly speaker, met here today with Yuliy Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister.

During the meeting, Sa'dun Hammadi explained to the USSR official the dimensions and developments of the Iranian aggression against Iraq and told him that this aggression is targeting Iraq's security and sovereignty. He also briefed the USSR official on the repeated setbacks sustained by Iranian forces on the warfronts.

Hammadi reviewed with Vorontsov the international efforts and endeavors seeking an end to the war and Iraq's favorable response to them. He recalled the Iranian regime's intransigence and its rejection of the international consensus, which wants to see the war end.

During the meeting, Vorontsov reiterated the Soviet stand, which stresses the need to bring the Iraq-Iran war to an immediate end and resolve disputed issues through political negotiations.

The meeting was attended by Vladimir Polyakov, chief of the Near Eastern and North African Countries Administration at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Sa'd 'Abd al-Majid al-Faysal, Iraqi ambassador to the USSR.

RSFSR's Vinogradov Discusses Al-Sadat, Iran

JN0707072388 Kuwait AL-ANBA' in Arabic 29 Jun 88 pp 24, 25

[Interview with Vladimir Vinogradov, RSFSR minister of foreign affairs, by Salam Musafir in Moscow—date not given]

[Text] When I met him, I did not expect our conversation to deal much with the past. I expected the foreign minister of the RSFSR, the mother Soviet republic, to be more concerned with the present. However, Vladimir Vinogradov, who is beginning his seventies while enjoying good health, may God make it last, has a sharp mind and a unique memory; these compel his interlocutor to listen attentively to a newsreel of memories that flow like a cascade marking important stages in the life of the brilliant Soviet diplomat, who spent most of his career in the Middle East.

The first station of the conversation was the international Middle East peace conference. But before the minister voiced his opinion about this long-awaited international conference, he drew from his lively memory the file of the Geneva Middle East peace conference that was held after the October 1973 war and said:

I was appointed alternate chairman of the Geneva conference, and in December 1973, I flew from Cairo to Geneva with the Egyptian delegation and began work. However, soon Christmas holidays began, and the Americans proposed a suspension. They returned home, and I remained in Geneva. The Americans returned to Geneva on 18 November, although they were supposed to return at the end of December. They worked for 2 days and then returned home. Here I would like to indicate that the Americans will not honor a promise even if it is written. The Geneva conference stumbled, and following 6 months of argument, I became convinced that Washington did not want the conference to be held. Following this procrastination, unilateral bargains began between Al-Sadat and Israel with the blessing and encouragement of the United States. All delegations left Geneva, and I was the last to leave. I toured some Arab countries in my capacity as the alternate chairman of the conference with the aim of reviving the conference's work. I met with the heads of the Arab countries I visited. We also contacted Al-Sadat's government and the Americans, but in vain: Al-Sadat and the Americans had decided to bring the subject of the conference to an end. It became certain that we were breathing life into a dead body. I was later appointed an ambassador to Iran and left Egypt for that country.

I asked Vinogradov: You have been an ambassador to Egypt at the most complex periods of Soviet-Egyptian relations. What, in your opinion, made Al-Sadat get rid of the Soviet experts, and how did events develop toward estrangement between Cairo and Moscow?

[Vinogradov] I have a personal opinion about this. I had the impression that Al-Sadat was obsessed by a certain idea. Since coming to power, he had sought to adopt a totally different policy from that of late President Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir. He was obsessed by the idea that Egypt should be influential in the Near and Middle East. The importance and status of great Egypt in the Middle East are, of course, undebatable, but Al-Sadat desired what was larger and remoter. He told me several times: Look, the Americans are turning Iran into a big power, thus hinting that Egypt should occupy Iran's position in the region.

He went on to say: However, Al-Sadat had not realized an important fact. This fact is that in the Middle East, the United States depends on its base, Israel. Because he failed to realize this equation, or to be more precise, because he tried not to understand it, he continued to harbor illusions. He believed that the United Sates could replace Israel with Egypt. From this premise, Al-Sadat formulated his plan in accordance with the following scenario: To win the confidence of the United States, he must first of all sabotage the relationship with the Soviets. Al-Sadat knew very well that the main objective

of the U.S. policy in the region was to expel the Soviets from it. Henry Kissinger had announced this in an explicit manner more than once. The White House plan was to bring about a confrontation between Egypt and the Soviet Union as a first step to be followed by the second step, which was to carry out a reconciliation between Egypt and Israel. The United States bribed Al-Sadat by offering him assistance or by promising to offer assistance. The U.S. plan was in line with Al-Sadat's illusions, and we all know what took place as result of this.

[Musafir] How were the Soviet experts ousted from Egypt, and how was this operation prepared?

[Vinogradov] You know that many Soviet military experts were present in Egypt at the time, particularly in the field of air defense. We were training Egyptian experts in this field. Of course, the United States and the Israelis knew the size of this assistance and the number of Soviet experts. They also were aware that any blow they dealt Egypt would reach our units, especially since our naval units were standing side by side with the Egyptian units. This meant that if they attacked Egypt, they would enter into a direct confrontation with us. Following the 1967 war, we offered Egypt substantial assistance, which could have achieved much had it been utilized efficiently. This assistance represented a great asset in the hands of the confrontation states and was a source of great worry to Israel and the Untied States. The Americans were aware that the Soviet presence would obstruct the achievement of the separate peace. They did all they could to have Al-Sadat oust the Soviet experts from Egypt. Immediately following 'Abd al-Nasir's demise, we noticed that Al-Sadat's behavior toward us changed. Our relationship with 'Abd al-Nasir had been characterized by frankness, simplicity, honor, and fair cooperation. But from the very first moment, Al-Asad used to express doubts and make impossible demands and unjustified remarks. For example, he asked us to supply him with weapons that would wipe out Israel just by pushing a button from Cairo. We told him: You have the most sophisticated weapons. You have the same weapons we are now using and which we have not yet supplied to others. We used to ask him: Why are you against the program for training more pilots? The equation at the time used to be one pilot for every three aircraft, and this is a very grave military mistake. Al-Sadat used to avoid replying to this question. We used to tell him: The skepticism which used to appear in statements and in the Egyptian media about the effectiveness of the weapons that were in the hands of the Egyptian Army is a grave political mistake: It undermines the Army's confidence in its capability and serves the enemy on the psychological level. We used to tell him: How can you wage war with weapons the effectiveness of which you do not trust? All this was in vain. We soon became fully convinced that Al-Sadat's campaign against the Egyptian Army's weapons concealed far-reaching political objectives.

Of course, the Americans took advantage of this and exploited Al-Sadat's inclination to sabotage the relationship with us. They supplied him with misleading information. U.S. intelligence service agents had been very active. They used to operate from within the Spanish Embassy, which at the time was in charge of U.S. interests in Cairo. There was a team of more than 20 American employees there. Although Al-Sadat knew very well that we will never conclude any agreement with the Americans behind the back of a third party, he believed the Americans when they told him that we have concluded an agreement with them on Egypt. They also made him believe that if he gave up his friendship with us, he would become the most pampered personality in the region with respect to U.S. policy in the Middle East. From this premise, he proceeded to sabotage the relationship with us. He started this with the most important sector, the Army. Everyuthing in that sector was proceeding smoothly and normally. The training programs were under way, and our experts were training Egyptian officers on the most sophisticated weapons while Al-Sadat used to come out with a new complaint every day.

During this period, the scandal involving the contractor Rundul [name as published], who pledged to build missile base installations in Egypt, was uncovered. The CIA recruited this Rundul and relayed to Israel all information that it obtained from him, although these installations are exposed and easily seen by satellites. After this scandal, Al-Sadat accused us of exposing "Egypt's secrets." We told him that Rundul is your man, that we do not know him, and that we have not been a party to the contract signed with him. Furthermore, we told him that we are not building installations on Egyptian territory. We also told him: It is not our fault if Egyptian intelligence failed to uncover this agent because Egypt's internal security is your own affair. It is obvious that through this operation, Al-Sadat was in a hurry to break the relationship with us on feeble pretexts and excuses.

And something else happened. Customs officials at Cairo airport stopped a group of our experts en route to the homeland for their vacation on the pretext that they wanted to smuggle gold. When we received a call to this effect, I asked the counsul to go to the airport to supervise the opening of all suitcases. Meanwhile, I contacted the prime minister's and Al-Sadat's offices. I received the same answer: Nobody is here. All have evaporated suddenly. When the suitcases were opened, they found that the 20 experts, who were leaving, were carrying 20 small earrings as gifts whose value is no more than few dozen pounds. When I succeeded in contacting Al-Sadat, he told me over the telephone: The act of the customs officials is shameful, and I apologize more than one time.

However, similar trivial incidents occurred. At that time, Al-Sadat dispatched Hafiz Isma'il to Washington on a secret visit.

In May 1972, Al-Sadat told me without explaining the reasons: Ambassador, I do not want the Soviet experts. I said: They came here at your request and insistence. This is because we did not respond immediately. What happened? He did not explain. He repeated: We do not need them. Here I would like to remind you of Kissinger's famous statement: Al-Sadat gave me everything without asking for anything. Here the disengagement of the relationship with us began in preparation for the next step.

Three months after the departure of the experts, Al-Sadat requested the return of the equipment. And it was returned. Regarding the October war, from the beginning Al-Sadat talked about the failure.

[Musafir] How?

[Vinogradov] Al-Sadat spread it about that his weapons were bad and that he would be forced to negotiate with Israel because he does not have effective weapons. However, when the offensive began, the weapons fired in an astonishing and splendid manner. Within a few hours, the most sophisticated U.S.-made Israeli tanks were destroyed, 200 tanks turned into ashes, and 40 planes were shot down on the 1st day. The Israelis were astonished, and Al-Asad was also astonished at these results. He stopped after advancing 5 kms. At the beginning, the Syrians were able to expel the Israelis from the Golan. Most of the Israeli Army was in the north. They then moved it to the south when the Egyptian Army halted its advance. The Israelis were then able to reoccupy the Golan and threaten Damascus.

I went to Al-Sadat and told him: Why did you stop? What are you waiting for? This is a historical opportunity to force Israel submit to your terms. Advance. He said: In boxing, the law says that the boxer should wait for his oponent to advance to deal him the knockout. I said: It is better for the boxer to attack his opponent. The situation is very serious because the Syrians are in danger, and you, at least, can preoccupy the Israeli forces. Damascus is in danager of falling. Al-Sadat then carelessly said: Let the Syrians embark on guerilla warfare against the Israeli Army. Then there was the Deversoir breach. I asked Al-Sadat: What happened? He said: This is a political plan. I said: What is this political plan while Israeli tanks are in Africa? You can surround the breach and completely destroy it. Al-Sadat's answer was: Mr Ambassador, you are a diplomat, and it is difficult for you to understand military matters.

Vinogradov continued: I agree with some people on their assessment of the October war, namely, that the war was a game. The Americans, who wanted to appear in the Middle East as "peacemakers," would not only act to save Israel, but would pretend that they were saving Egypt as well. But how can Egypt be saved if it achieves victory? The Defresoir Bridgehead was the Trojan horse. By the way, according to precise military estimations, the bridgehead was a trap for the Israeli forces. Had the intention been there, the Israeli Army would have been completely crushed, especially since the Egyptian Army fought with great courage, and its movements were carefully organized and planned. Its arms were also effective and destructive. Ahmad Isla'il and his staff performed fantastically. Al-Shadhili told me that he also urged Al-Sadat to contain the bridgehead, but he refused. In those days, a number of Egyptian politicians began asking me pressing questions as to why Al-Sadat was doing that. I, in turn, asked him. Al-Sadat's answers were similar or the same. Do not worry, I have a plan, this is a military affairs, and so forth. A few days later, the telephone rang in my house at 0300. Al-Sadat was on the other end. He was asking our intervention to stop the war. Al-Sadat had achieved what he wanted. Had he continued the fighting, his plan would have failed, for victory was certain for the Egyptian Army, which did not lack courage and determination, good planning, or effective weapons. Had the battles continued a few more days, Al-Sadat and all the Arabs would have negotiated with Israel from a position of strength. The October war violently shocked Israel. That is one of its characteristics. The other characteristic of the war is that it unified the Arab stands. Another thing is that the entire world knew that the Arabs were the party that began the war in October, but not one accused them of being aggressors. World public opinion at large supported the Arab right to liberate their occupied territories. In brief, Al-Sadat wasted a wonderful and rare opportunity through his hellish idea that he would be the first figure in the U.S. Middle East formula. In its first days, the valiant war was about to foil Al-Sadat's plan. He, therefore, rushed to sabotage the movement of the war, and then to tamper with its outcome. The Americans hurriedly accepted the Geneva conference; then they hurriedly evaded their commitments toward the continuation of the conference and the achievement of practical and constructive results. The scheme of partial deals had come into effect. After a relatively short period, the Camp David deal was concluded. The series of capitulations to the U.S.-Israeli scheme in the region continued. Until his fall, Al-Sadat had not become No 1 to Washington. This will never happen.

[Musafir] Do you think that the current Egyptian leadership has such illusions?

[Vinogradov] No. I do not think so. I met with President Husni Mubarak last year. He is realistic and wise, with a heavy political and economic legacy left by al-Sadat. I think that Mubarak sees things clearly and accurately.

[Musafir] How do you view prospects for a solution in light of a realistic approach to the Middle East situation? Do you consider the international conference a realistic possibility?

[Vinogradov] A solution requires that two conditions are met, or if you like, two basic factors. The first factor is Israel's full withdrawal from the occupied Arab territory and recognizing the Palestinians' right of establishing

their independent state or what is known as the right of self-determination. I am sure that Israel will not be able to force the Arabs to make concessions. Temporary defeats and setbacks will hamper the Arabs, but they will not surrender. I think there are Israelis who realize this fact only too well. As for the ruling circles, their intransigence is exposing the state's fate to dire consequences. They should realize that the Arabs are a big nation, that they are besieging Israel from all sides, and that their patience will ultimately run out. The brave Palestinian uprising has proved that peace cannot be realized under occupation. Therefore, Israel must change its policies.

The second basic factor is the unity of the Arab position. It is elating that the results of the Algiers Arab summit have shown that the Arabs are determined to unify their position. As for our stand, it is firm and principled. The United States should change its position. In the Moscow summit, the Americans admitted the need to convene the international conference on peace in the Middle East. They also admitted that a solution is not possible without Soviet participation. However, they are still of the view that the international conference could be an occasion to hold separate deals. We are working to convene the international conference as soon as possible. As for the Palestinian representation, it is an Arab issue, and we support every Palestinian Arab decision in this regard. Resolution No 242 does not refer to Palestinian rights. This is understandable because the resolution was issued after the 1967 aggression with the primary objective of realizing the withdrawal of the Israeli forces of aggression. Moreover, the Palestinian weight at that time was not as great as it is now.

Therefore, the solution requires an international decision recognizing the Palestinian people's legitimate rights. For the Palestinian leadership to accept Resolution No 242 is not a strange thing. It shows good intentions and a sound desire to realize a peaceful solution for the Middle East conflict.

I would like to point out another thing. I would like the Arab friends to get rid of a psychological feeling, which is incorrect, that Israel is besieging them. In fact, the contrary is true. If this Arab feeling grows, it will grant Israel further strength. I am not striking the chord of war, but I believe that the Israeli threat to the Arabs continues to exist, something which makes the chances of peace in the region remote.

[Musafir] How do you personally explain the failure of the USSR to support a resolution that imposes an arms ban on Iran?

[Vinogradov] Moscow does not oppose such a ban, but we believe that it is too early to adopt such a resolution. We are also perfectly convinced that Iran would obtain more arms despite such a resolution. We believe that Iran will consider such a resolution a justification to reject Resolution No 598 openly and categorically, a thing which Iran has not quite done so far. For our part, we believe that the possibilities of Resolution No 598 have not been exhausted yet. Our proposal that international forces under UN auspices should be formed to disengage the warring forces continues to be important. We believe that this will greatly help reach a peaceful settlement. The U.S. rejection of this proposal reveals its far-reaching aims and plans in the Gulf region. Washington is not serious in deterring Iran. Its show strikes will not freighten the Iranians, who are transforming their men into minesweepers in a war whose bestiality and tragedies cannot be described by words. I believe that the heavy U.S. presence gives encouragement to the Iranian forces that want the war to continue. These forces take the U.S. presence as a justification to continue the war against the "Great Satan" according to Iranian concepts, let alone Iraq and Kuwait.

[Musafir] You have worked as ambassador in Iran before, during, and after Khomeyni took power. You have witnessed the triumph of the "Islamic revolution". How do you view the opinion that says Washington saw the seizure of power by Khomeyni and his team to be in its interest, or that the revolution received a green light from the Americans?

[Vinogradov] In my opinion, the shah was useful to the Americans and a winning card in their hands in the region. The shah was loyal to and harmonious with himself in dealing with the Americans. Yet the shah's problem was that he thought Washington will treat him as an equal and on the same level. He did not understand that the Americans considered him no more than a toy. The shah has complained to me more than once that his major problems were with his American allies and not with the Soviets. Truly, trade between our two countries was improving, borders were quiet, and we did not interfere at all in Iran's internal affairs. On the other hand, the Americans placed big stakes on the shah: the shah of strong army and obedient organs, headed by the SAVAK. In the eyes of the Americans, the shah's authority looked so strong and invicible, or appeared at least that a crack could not be made in it. They thought that the shah could suppress any uprising or rebellion by force, whether these came from the left or other social forces. The Americans made a mistake in this bet because they did not comprehend the rules of social development. Their calculations were proven wrong when the popular resentment erupted and turned into a mammoth revolt. When it became evident that Ayatollah Khomeyni had reached an understanding with, and secured the neutrality of the Army, we understood that Khomeyni and his group had achieved victory.

In those days, the Americans realized that the shah was a card that had been burned and had no horizon, so they simply threw him away. Before his death, the shah wrote: "The Americans have thrown me out of Iran like a dead rat." He was right. The Americans monitored the balance of power and saw that the leftist and progressive forces were superior. These were the youth forces under political organizations which have made the revolution,

like "Mojahedin-e-Khalq" and "Feda'yan-e-Khalq". Khomeyni and the religious forces around him were considered the symbol. Following the principle of the better of the two evils, the Americans worked to weaken the influence of the leftist forces. The developments of events have proved that the religious forces' enmity toward the United States was in reality a response to the pressure and mood of the masses, which are hostile to the United States because of its infamous policy in Iran.

Actually, differences in stands toward Americans became evident from the beginning. There were forces which did not accept the religious philosophy that is based on fanaticism. These forces were more in favor of the Western and American model in political life. The clergymen have opposed these forces because they wanted to take power in the country. This was the source of hostility of the religious forces around Khomeyni toward the Americans. On the other hand, these forces oppose the Soviet Union in order to create a balanced state. The Soviet Union has no aggressive intentions toward Iran, no matter who leads it. Present Iranian leaders remember very well that we directed a warning to the Americans when they sent their troops in 1978 under the pretext of protecting Iran from Soviet intervention. I can say that due to the Soviet warning, the Americans did not intervene to suppress the popular revolt, which led to the victory of the "Islamic revolution" and to the seizure of power by Khomeyni's leadership.

He added: The progressive forces, Islamic and secular, have made the revolution in Iran. Here I refer to the role played by Ayatollah Taliqani, who was not a communist by any measure. But he was a political leader who had broad horizons and who dealt with life in a realistic and progressive way. The youths of Mojahedin-e-Khalq and Feda'iyan-e-Khalq have lost hundreds of victims so that revolution against the shah would triumph.

Regrettably, these forces, which made the revolution, did not have a future plan after the victory. When they shouted for the downfall of the shah, they did not think of what they were going to do after his fall. Even Khomeyni's team did not think about the future. Noticeably, Khomeyni's statements in Paris suggested that he would establish a multi-party parliamentary state. He even anounced his acceptance of the communists' participation. But, after he arrived in Iran and after he became convinced that, although different in form, Bazargan's government was an extension of the shah's, Khomeyni changed his tactics and staged a coup. This coup began by holding American hostages in the U.S. Embassy in Tehran. This operation was directed against Bazargan more than it was directed against Washignton. With this coup, Khomeyni destroyed the possibility that a liberal bourgeois government on a Western model can emerge in Iran.

[Musafir] You have met Khomeyni several times. How did he impress you?

[Vinogradov] I have met with him six times, the first time being days after the victory of the revolution. When I requested the meeting, I was asked if Khomeyni would accede to the request for a meeting by the ambassador of Moscow. However, within 2 hours of the request being made, Khomeyni agreed. The meeting was quiet and useful. He talked about his belief in the necessity to develop relations with our country. I pointed out that ideological differences between our nations shouldn't be an obstacle. He responded by saying that some ignoramuses are making anti-Soviet noises. He hoped we would not pay too much attention to that, calling it a bubble that will burst before long. He said these noises were meant as a counterweight since we hurl a good deal of abuse against the Americans. To which I replied: If this persists, the shouters will get used to it. He answered: The people can tell their enemies from their friends. There have been other such meetings since then. Obviously his aides give him misleading, erroneous information. When I explained things to him, he sounded surprised. For instance, Shari'atmadari was rumored in Iran to have signed an agreement with the Soviet whereby they would enter territory in Iranian Azerbaijan. A document to that effect was fabricated. Another rumor had it that the Iranian prime minister would announce that Moscow had sent weapons along with experts to Iranian Kurdistan. When I recounted this to Khomeyni, he was surprised, especially when I said to him that we were rumored to have distributed rubles there. Khomeyni commented that this is real stupidity. Having met him several times, I came away with the impression that he had a special conception of the world. He was fully convinced of what he believed in, and he knows that the simple folk believe him and follow him blindly. Remarkably, in our tete-a-tetes Khomeyni talked differently than when an aide of his was present. In the private meetings, he sounded more open, frank, and concerned for our relations. Often he didn't know the identity of those present from the Iranian side. More than once he asked the name of the person sitting with us. He added: Naturally, Khomeyni is not very knowledgeable. He is different from the shah with whom we used to talk about diverse, intricate subjects covering many corners of the globe. I have met with Khomeyni five times in Qom and once in Tehran, this being the last meeting. Since suffering a heart attack, he has refused to see foreigners. He has delegated one person or a number of persons to meet with us and receive our letters.

[Musafir] What are the developments that led up to the liquidation of the communist in Iran? And did you expect Khomeyni to take that step?

[Vinogradov] It became clear that Khomeyni would liquidate the left when he rejected the premise or slogan of a parliamentary republic. When a referendum was held on the designation to be given to the republic—that is, whether it would be called a people's republic, a democratic republic, a people's democratic republic, or just a republic—Khomeyni rejected the first designations because they are usually given to socialist states

and proposed the designation "the Islamic Republic". The Iranian parties voiced their objections to this designation. However, the referendum was held. A green card was used to signify that one supports the Islamic Republic designation, while a red card was used to signify that one is against the Islamic Republic. The significance of the colors used in this kind of referendum is of course understood. The overwhelming majority supported the Islamic Republic, Khomeyni's preference.

Afterward, a referendum was held on the constitution which was drafted by pro-Khomeyni fundamentalists according to their own desires. A referendum was held on the constitution in the same aforementioned manner. That is, Iranians had to voice their views for or against the 200-page constitution using the words "yes" or "no". I believe that the overwhelming majority which said yes in this referendum had not read even one letter of this constitution. Then, political parties realized that they had been cornered, especially when we know that the people who had faith in the imam dropped green cards in the referendum boxes once again expressing their support for Khomeyni's constitution. Thus, power centered in the hands of the Ayatollahs. Then, this establishment began to show signs of activation. In the beginning, leftist forces sided with Khomeyni. Nay, they also voiced their support for the Islamic Republic. Then came the constitution to initiate the first move in the attack against the leftist forces. Khomeyni began with the strongest current; that is with Mojahedin-e Khalq, the movement which has the best young elements who had been loved by the people. Mojahedin-e Khalq's progressive Islamic slogans strongly affected people's minds at the time. This effect was greater than that of Feda'iyan-e Khalq which had stronger leanings to Marxism. The ayatollahs delivered a blow to Mojahedin-e Khalq through their use of Hezbollah. Atrocities and a cruel genocide were perpetrated against the Mojahedin-e Khalq. Then came Feday'iyan-e Khalq's turn who were easily destroyed. Despite the fact that the Tudeh party of Iran voiced its support for Khomeyni up to the bitter end and despite its modest powers, it was not spared. Its turn came after blows had been dealt to the two strongest leftist organizations in the country.

[Musafir] How do you assess Iran's future, especially after Khomeyni's absence?

[Vinogradov] The image of the future is largely dependent on the nature of the coming leadership. As long as Khomeyni is in power, the situation will remain unchanged. I believe that no sudden or sharp changes will occur after Khomeyni's death, as a class of disciples have clustered around Khomeyni. This class, which has its privileges and interests, feels comfortable in the leadership positions which they are occupying. The members of this class have relatives, friends, and aides; and you know that ties of kinship play their role in the East. I have noticed that a comprehensive change in the bureaucracy and leadership positions has taken place after the shah's fall and Khomeyni's assumption of power. Bureaucrats in the shah's era were talented. The Khomeyni government brought new personnel. It is bizarre that most of them lived for many years in the United States, either to study or to work. These people occupied important administrative positions in the new regime. They are deputy ministers, councellors, institution directors, or governors. In short, they occupied the intermediary links in the regime. Those "American Muslims" adopted extreme religious slogans, grew beards, and began to perform prayers although they knew nothing about prayers' rules when they were in the United States. They have very limited visions and harbor hostility for the Soviets. I met with a number of them, and I can say that they hold important posts in the state. I believe that in the absence of Khomeyni the state will maintain its religious character, but with a somewhat greater civilian flavor. The Iranian bourgoisie will agree with the clergymen because this relationship is precious for the Ayatollahs. Relations with the West, especially with the United States, will expand more. I am sure of this because Iran is linked technologically with the West and the United States. I do not believe there is a political force in Iran influential enough to assume power there.

[Musafir] How do you interpret the Iranians' insistence on continuing the war despite their defeats, and although the achievement of the promised victory has become nothing more than a dream?

[Vinogradov] By insisting on continuing the war, the Iranian regime commits the gravest mistake. It seems to me that the Iranian leadership relies on the Iranians' patience and blind faith in the imam's orders. However, I believe that this patience and endurance has a limit too. I believe that after Khomeyni dies the halting of the war will be easier. The majority is now committed to Khomeyni's edicts while he is still alive. However, after his death, these edicts will eventually be forgotten. I do not believe Khomeyni's successor will be committed to all the imam's edicts.

[Musafir] How do you evaluate Rafsanjani's character?

[Vinogradov] He is an active, pragmatic person. He holds viewpoints and implements the imam's orders while maintaining his own viewpoints. During my meetings with him, I have not sensed a hostile feeling toward my country. We have established good relations with him. I have once voiced my dissatisfaction to him because he abused my country in one of his speeches. I noticed that he felt embarrassed after this remark. I believe he is more far-sighted than others. He was imprisoned with leftists and listened to the other opinion. Generally speaking, he is more practical and realistic than the others.

[Musafir] How true are the reports on the presence of various currents within the Iranian leadership? Do you believe there is a strong pro-U.S. current?

[Vinogradov] The Iranian leadership is closed and it is difficult to uncover its secrets. However, an objective analysis will show there is a longstanding relationship between the United States and Iran. Iranian money is deposited in U.S. banks. The Americans will not desist from their efforts to return to Iran. I am fully convinced of that.

Iran is much more important for the United States than Vietnam. Vietnam is far, whereas Iran is adjacent to the Soviet Union. The Americans had installed two spy stations on the southern shore of the Caspian Sea. These two spy stations can access a large part of our territory and monitor missiles. Neither the shah nor his prime ministers entered those two stations. I spoke to them about that and they said they can enter the stations. I said to them, then enter them and take me with you if you can, and I was sure that no Iranian could enter the stations, not even the shah. After the revolution the stations were in operation for 3 successive months. When we discovered that, we lodged a protest with the Iranian Government and the stations stopped operating after that. Iran is a very important point for the United States. The Americans flooded Iran with weapons sufficent for 40 or 50 years. They had planned long-term strategic goals, and it is inconceivable that they will relinquish these goals so easily.

[Musafir] Are you sure the two spy stations are not operating now?

[Vinogradov] Yes, I believe they have been completely closed down. Earlier the Americans proposed to the Iranians to operate these stations on the pretext that they monitor the implementation of the SALT II agreement between us and the Americans. The Iranians informed us of these talks and we unequivocally rejected the pretext.

[Musafir] What is the future of Iranian-Soviet relations?

[Vinogradov] Our present relations with Iran are apparently normal. At the time of the shah, our trade relations with Iran were for export. Now, there are political consultations between us and exchanges of visits, but we do not believe all that the Iranians say. There are a lot of cordial expressions. However, I do not believe the present Iranian leaders understand the need for establishing good relations with Iran's northern neighbor. A policy of isolation and introversion now prevails upon the political outlook of the Iranian rulers. It is regrettable that an entire generation will grow up without knowing the world beyond Iran's border—a generation that does not know anything about us or about Kuwait and the other Gulf countries and has only hostile concepts. Such and such is an arch-satan, and such and such is a medium satan, and such and such is a small satan. In the past we bought from Iran the natural gas which used to be burned away. When the Iranians asked for a higher price, we agreed. Iran received in return for its natural gas payments which it used to construct big projects. Now, the natural gas pipeline is not operating. It seems to me that freezing trade relations with the Soviet Union is in line with the general policy of Khomeyni's government or its successor. I repeat, the future of Soviet-Iranian relations depends to a large extent on the nature of Iran's future government.

East Europe

Gorbachev Continues Official Visit to Poland

More Details on Warsaw Arrival

LD1107142388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1015 GMT 11 Jul 88

[By TASS correspondents V. Volkov, N. Zheleznov, A. Kondrashov, G. Shishkin, and V. Shishlin]

[Text] Warsaw, 11 Jul, TASS special correspondent—However important meetings between the Soviet leaders and the leaders of the major Western states might be, the priority of the USSR's foreign policy is invariable: Relations with the socialist countries are and will remain the CPSU and Soviet states' general trend, the main object of its concern and attention.

This is fully supported by the aims and tasks of M.S. Gorbachev's official, friendly visit to the PPR, which is beginning. The visit is being conducted at the invitation of W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and the supreme state authorities of the PPR. Dialogue with the leaders of fraternal Poland will concern an examination of a broad range of tasks relating to political and economic cooperation, interaction in the international arena, and an exchange of experience in restructuring and social and economic reforms in both countries. The quest for new forms and methods of involving the broad masses of the working people, the intelligentsia, and young people in interstate and interparty cooperation is particularly topical. Behind all of this there lies the immutable aim: Cooperation between the USSR and the PPR must work more effectively for the good of the two peoples.

Interest in the visit is considerable among all strata of Polish society. The atmosphere of warmth and cordiality with which the inhabitants of the capital and of other Polish towns are greeting the Soviet leader can be felt everywhere. The all-union conference of Soviet Communists has greatly attracted Polish society to the ideas of the restructuring under way in the USSR. The bold, new approaches to the complex and urgent problems of the economy and of all spheres of social life, and the wealth of ideas and opinions on how to more fully expand socialism's democratic potential, which were elaborated upon at the conference, is stimulating an ardent response among Polish Communists and all of the citizens.

In Moscow it is noon by now, but in Warsaw it is morning: 1000 local time. Okecie Airport today is warmed not just by the rays of the beating July sun, but by the warm smiles on joyful faces and by the words of welcome on the banners of white and red, symbols of the Polish state.

The Soviet and Polish state flags are fluttering over the airport building.

The line-up of the honor guard, consisting of Polish infantrymen, airmen, and navymen is impeccable. Numerous representatives of Polish, Soviet, and foreign newspapers, magazines, and television netwerks are ready to record the first minutes of this important event in the life of the two fraternal peoples.

The Il-62 airliner, which in the last 3 years has been met in the airports of Geneva, and Reykjavik, Washington and London, Prague, Berlin, Budapest, and other cities, taxies towards the scene of the festive ceremony.

At the foot of the aircraft's ramp, M.S. Gorbachev and his wife are cordially welcomed by W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the PPR Council of State, and his wife. Representatives of Poland's young generation—scouts—handed the visitors flowers.

A military band plays the two countries' national anthems.

M.S. Gorbachev and W. Jaruzelski inspect the honor guard.

The Soviet leaders shakes hands with Z. Messner, chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers; R. Malinowski, marshal of the PPR Sejm; members of the party and state leadership of the country, and with members of the PPR Government.

Among the welcoming party are employees of Soviet establishments in Poland and the heads of diplomatic missions accredited in Warsaw.

Representatives of the working people of the Polish capital who have gathered at the airport express their sincere feelings of friendship toward Mikhail Sergeyevich by waving flowers, flags, and exclamations of welcome. The ceremony of the festive meeting concludes with a march-past by the honor guard.

Accompanying M.S. Gorbachev on his trip to the PPR are E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR Foreign Minister; V.A. Medvedev, CPSU Central Committee secretary; Ye.Ye. Sokolov, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee; and V.I. Brovikov, Soviet ambassador to Poland.

It is a 10-minutes drive to the center of the city of Okecie along a road as straight as an arrow. True, that is on a road free of traffic. However, the "friendly pickets" the city's residents have set up along the route of the cortege of vehicles have made the road three times longer. The motorcycle honor guard stopped on several occasions, and the general secretary got out of the car to shake hands with the residents of Warsaw and to respond to their fervent greetings, and not only to greetings but to sincere wishes for a successful and business-like visit. These can be heard from everywhere:

—We're with you, Gorbachev; we are for renewal!

—Restructuring brings us closer!

Yes, with all the specific and individual nature of the experience of transformations in our country, the common aim of the Soviet and the Polish peoples—more socialism, more democracy!—is taking on concrete forms and real outlines.

Many wars have seared the Polish earth; many of her best sons have fallen in battles for the freedom and independence of their motherland. The fraternal union with the USSR and other socialist countries now ensures a peaceful life and the security of the Polish people. However, the memory of the fallen heroes live in the hearts of people and in popular traditions, the names of streets and squares, and in thousands of monuments and memorials.

The CPSU Central Committee general secretary visited one of these places, sacred to Warsaw and to the heart of every Pole. This is the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Victory Square where an eternal flame burns and urns stand, full of the earth on which the blood of Polish servicemen was shed. Memorial plaques list the places in which Poles fought in the fronts of the World Wars I and II.

The Soviet leader looked over the memorial and laid a wreath. On the crimson ribbon was the inscription: "To the heroes of the Polish people—warriors for the freedom and independence of Poland."

The route goes on to the Polish capital's Theater Square, where there is a monument to the heroes of Warsaw and Nike, that personifies the heroic struggle of the people of Warsaw against the fascist occupiers. M.S. Gorbachev laid a wreath at the foot of the monument.

The Polish people preserve the memory of the Soviet soldiers who fell in the fighting for the liberation of Polish soil from the Hitlerite aggressors just as carefully as they do that of their own compatriots. The granite obelisk of the memorial cemetery for Soviet soldiers in Warsaw leaps up to a height of 35 meters above the green of the avenues and the strict decoration of the graves. Here, "Beyond the sleepy Vistula", lie 21,500 Soviet

soldiers and officers, who gave their lives for the Polish capital. There are always fresh flowers by the main obelisk, the sculptures of Soviet soldiers, and the head stones of fraternal graves.

The CPSU Central Committee general secretary took a look around the memorial and laid a wreath. "Glory to the Soviet soldiers who perished for the freedom of Poland," is written on the ribbon.

The Soviet and Polish national anthems were played, and Polish military honor guards were lined up.

M.S. Gorbachev was accompanied by J. Czyrek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; F. Siwicki, member of the PZPR Central Committee politburo and defense minister; and other officials.

M.S. Gorbachev and W. Jaruzelski held a conversation in the PZPR Central Committee Building at noon. The Soviet and Polish leaders exchanged information on the processes of renovation taking place in the political, economic, and public lives of both countries and on the topical tasks tackled by the CPSU and the PZPR at the present stage of socialist construction. The CPSU Central Committee general secretary talked about the results of the 19th all-union party conference. Both sides noted that the very atmosphere at the forum of Soviet Communists and the decisions it adopted were of tremendous significance for socialism worldwide. They discussed a wide range of topical international issues and joint tasks of the USSR and the PPR in the cause of strengthening peace and security.

Taking part in the conversation on the Soviet side were E.A. Shevardnadze; V.A. Medvedev; Ye.Ye. Sokolov; V.I. Boldin, chief of the CPSU Central Committee General Department; G. Kh. Shakhnazarov, aide to the CPSU Central Committee general secretary; and V.I. Brovikov.

Attending on the Polish side were: J. Czyrek; M. Gorywoda, candidate member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo; B. Kolodziejczak, member of the PZPR Central Committee Secretariat; E. Kucza, director of the PZPR Central Committee Foreign Affairs Department; T. Orzechowski, PPR Foreign Minister; W. Natorf, Polish ambassador to the USSR; and other officials.

Following the conversation in the PZPR Central Committee, M.S. Gorbachev was awaited in the Polish Sejm. On the way, along Aleje Ujazdowski Street, Warsaw's greenest main road, were thousands of Warsaw citizens.

The CPSU Central Committee general secretary and his delegation were welcomed at the entrance to the Polish parliament building by R. Malinowski, marshal of the Sejm. He invited the guests to take their places in the boxes and opened the ceremonial session of the supreme legislative body of People's Poland. In his opening address, the leader of the Sejm expressed satisfaction, on behalf of the deputies, in connection with the arrival in the PPR of M.S. Gorbachev, a man who has proclaimed a policy of the revival of the humanistic face of socialism, and of the construction of a world free of force and nuclear arms.

R. Malinowski offered the floor to the guest.

Speech by M.S. Gorbachev (text of speech to follow).

Then W. Jaruzelski addressed the Sejm deputies.

Speech by W. Jaruzelski. (text of speech to follow)

A commemorative medal of the Sejm was presented to M.S. Gorbachev in the columned hall of the Sejm in the presence of the Council of Elders.

In the evening, W. Jaruzelski and B. Jaruzelska gave a dinner in honor of M.S. Gorbachev and R.M. Gorbacheva.

Present at the dinner were the Soviet officials accompanying M.S. Gorbachev on his journey, members of the party and state leadership of Poland, and prominent figures of science and culture from the two countries.

M.S. Gorbachev delivered a speech at the dinner.

Speech by M.S. Gorbachev (text of speech to follow).

W. Jaruzelski delivered a speech in reply.

Speech by W. Jaruzelski (text of speech to follow).

The speeches by M.S. Gorbachev and W. Jaruzelski were received with applause. The dinner proceeded in a warm, friendly atmosphere.

Remarks to Krakow People

LD1207221688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 12 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast—video report from Krakow by D. Biryukov]

[Text] The official friendly visit of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to the PPR continues.

[Biryukov] Today Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev was warmly welcomed by ancient Krakow, the city which became a cradle of the Polish state, of Polish culture.

Comrade Gorbachev and his spouse arrived at the Krakow Balice aerodrome from Warsaw. They were welcomed by Comrade Jaruzelski and his wife; Gajewicz, first secretary of the Krakow PZPR Committee; other officials; and representatives of the public. On his tour of the country, Comrade Gorbachev is being accompanied by Comrades Shevardnadze, Medvedev, Sokolov, Brovikov, and the USSR ambassador in the PPR. [video

shows the Gorbachevs walking down steps of the plane, Gorbachev shaking hands with Jaruzelski, traditionally dressed Polish women presenting flowers to Gorbachev and Raisa, and glimpses of Shevardnadze and Medvedev; folk ensemble performs]

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] Well done! Thank you. We know that the Poles are great patriots of their country. It is the same in our country. People love their land. They criticize and become anxious, but they also want to make it better. What we are doing at the moment is very close to what you do. That is why we have a good deal of exchanges going on. We have moved closer. I was very impressed by my meetings in Warsaw yesterday. I can see that the Warsaw people take a great deal of interest in what we do.

[Unidentified man] We are not any worse. After all, we are the old capital of Warsaw. [as heard] [end recording] [video shows Gorbachev signing a copy of his book, then a man in the crowd presents him flowers]

[Biryukov] From the Balice airport, the cortege of cars headed south, for the Tatry, the places carefully preserved in our memory which are associated with the name of Lenin, the hamlet of Bialy Dunajec. Here, in this peasant hut, Vladimir Ilich Lenin lived and worked. Together with Nadezhna Konstantinovna Krupskaya, he came here from Krakow to spend the summer in 1913 and 1914. The house of Teresa Skupen, rented by the Ulyanovs, has survived intact. Hundreds of pamphlets and articles for PRAVDA and other newspapers were written here. Here Lenin met with his fellow Bolsheviks coming from Russia, as well as with Polish comrades.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Wojciech Jaruzelski, leaders of the two fraternal parties, and other Soviet and Polish officials have arrived by the Lenin House Museum in Bialy Dunajec. According to old tradition, bread and salt was given to the dear guest. [video shows traditionally dressed villagers greeting Gorbachev and presenting him with bread and salt with Gorbachev saying: Thank you very much, all the best]

[Biryukov] The highlands' folk group performs one folk tune after another. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev acquainted himself with exhibits of the house museum. The entire surroundings of the memorable times has been recreated here with extreme care and fidelity. Even the furniture once made by local craftsmen has been preserved. Everything, literally everything, in this modest peasant house evokes memories of the great revolutionary.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev made an entry in the book for visitors of honor. [video cuts to show village square with a crowd of locals at the terrace of a house; crowd greets Gorbachev]

[Begin Gorbachev recording] Thank you for the memory of Ilich. A lot in the new Poland started on the day when our new life started too, following the revolution, and Poland was reborn as an independent state. That was associated with Lenin. We are very happy that in the present days and years, the friendly ties between our peoples are expanding considerably. It applies, above all, to cooperation and mutual aid. You know that if you can feel the shoulder of your neighbor, friend, or brother, you tread the road in a more assured way.

Now with Comrade Jaruzelski and other Polish leaders, we have been discussing what can been done in order to make our countries cooperate better and so that our peoples know each other better. I believe you would agree that this is very important for both of us. I also believe that if Poland and the Soviet Union are friends and develop socialism in the interests of people, then that will also be good for Europe and not bad for the world either. What do you think? [end recording]

Walkabout in Poronin

LD1307011888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 12 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report on walkabout by M.S. Gorbachev and W. Jaruzelski in Poronin on 12 July—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] The village of Poronin is a little over 1 km from Bialy Dunajec. In the house of peasant Buta Mostowoj, Lenin held conferences with members of the party Central Committee, for example, the well-known Poronin conference in October 1913. [video of the house with a plaque showing the dates of Lenin's visits]

A monument to Lenin has been erected in the park in front of the museum. It is a gift from Leningrad workers to the Polish people. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev laid a wreath at the monument. [video of the ceremony] Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski laid a wreath; then the Internationale was played.

[video of Gorbachev addressing a group of people on a village street]

[Gorbachev] Are these all vacationers?

[Unidentified voices] Yes, we are vacationers.

[Gorbachev] Where are you from?

[Voices] Szczecin, (?Kowno), Lodz, Poznan.

[Gorbachev] We will visit Szczecin.

[Voice] Give our regards to Szczecin from us.

[Gorbachev, laughing] Yes, we will, by all means. And from what other places?

[Voice] From Lodz.

[Gorbachev] And where else?

[Voice] Poznan.

[Gorbachev] From Poznan? So all of Poland is here! One can speak to the whole of Poland at once! Then I would like to say many thanks for the reception. I understand you are on vacation; this is a good time, and you are feeling fine. You know, when I look at you and see your faces, I know that the Polish people are in a good mood. And you know, I would like to tell you that we feel great solidarity with what is being done in Poland today. Look what changes are taking place in Poland! I was very pleased yesterday when Comrade Jaruzelski told me in a conversation that imports from capitalist countries had been reduced now by 35 percent, and that even from socialist countries they had been reduced a little. At the same time, Polish production has increased by 7 percent on 1978. This means that Poland itself is already working. This is the most important thing, comrades.

[Jaruzelski] We do not live on credit any more. [laughter]

[Gorbachev] Yes, yes. Of course, the old credits are weighing upon Poland. But the fact that today the Polish people, guided by the party of the working class in community with other political forces, is gaining strength is very good. Perhaps a difficult mission has befallen you, but it is also an honorable mission. Poland is beginning to take firm steps of own. We are taking your problems to heart; we sympathize with you and even more than simply sympathize. In the last few years, we have been cooperating more and more. Hundreds of enterprises have already established links. This started in 1980, when deliveries from the West suddenly stopped and we started linking our enterprises directly so that Poland and the working class could continue working. But we want to enhance this process in order that we should cooperate with you and advance together. It is not easy to combine. But, you know, we mujst work in order that you and we should advance with confidence and should not depend on anyone, on any wishes from abroad or from across the ocean. You and we have enormous natural resources at our disposal, good potential, and educated peoples. We have experience. Finally, we have had so many bruises that this will not be in vain for us either. [applause]

[Announcer] Representatives of the public from the highland region presented Comrade Gorbachev and his wife with local handicrafts. [video shows Gorbachev putting on a hat with a feather, Raisa wearing a bright shawl, Gorbachev receiving a walking stick]

[Gorbachev] Hello, comrades. [applause] I, Comrade Jaruzelski, and our entire delegation are pleased to be able to meet you here in Poronin, as you say. We pronounced it Poronin. The first thing I wish to say to you on behalf of our country's Communists, on behalf of our people is this: We are greatly and sincerely grateful to you for the memory you have preserved here. The memory of Ilich is close and dear to us. We are very happy to see that it is also close and dear to you, to Poles, to all the country's workers. Thank you for all that you are doing so that this memory is preserved the way it is. Thank you! [applause] It is our shared duty—my duty and Comrade Jaruzelski's duty, the duty of our people and your people—my duty to continue the cause begun by Lenin.

You know, there are many discussions currently under way in your country about what the Poland of the future should be like. If only you could hear what a discussion is under way in our country, about what the USSR should be like. Well, take our latest event: the party conference. The whole country, all 280 million people sat in front of their television screens. But, you know, I should tell you sincerely: Discussions and searching debates went on for 3 years, as did very responsible criticism, self-criticism, and an uncompromising analysis of all that we have been doing. I want to tell you that the main, the chief conclusion which was arrived at—not by me nor my comrades and just us alone—but by the whole of the people is for socialism. [sentence as heard] The question: Will it not weaken socialism? is always inherent in everything new that we do. This means that our people have again voted—like they did in October 1977—for Lenin's choice, for socialism. But we should be doing everything so that this system, a system of the workers is made fully responsive to the needs of the workers, so that life in our countries, in its entirety, is organized by people themselves, directed by them. That is the most important thing.

Most of the errors that were allowed to take place in our country and in your country alike could have been avoided if our peoples had been involved all these years on a permanent basis in the process of tackling and discussing the most complex problems. When this is done behind closed doors, errors are unavoidable. The biggest errors of all are the political errors. This is not in the same category as bad plowing of sowing or the malfunctioning of a machine tool or a single part being below standard. All this does happen. However, as far as the political level is concerned, it is imperative to avoid political mistakes. This is because countries and peoples have to pay dearly for this. It is possible to avoid mistakes by proceeding along just one path: the broad path of nationwide discussion of all problems. This is how it should be under socialism. If this is absent, socialism is not to blame, no, because deviations did take place and we have to state this honesty. We are sure that we and you proceed along the correct path. Like every path, especially if it is a long path, a path along which the people are proceeding, it is always a path that is not simple. Difficulties, upsurges, declines, and boulders—everything will be encountered along this path, as is the case with every path.

If we look back—and our states have a 1000-year-old history—many things have happened during this historical process. Today, however, our states are modern states and we have cultivated peoples. Therefore, it is up to us to reach new heights too. Let us not be soft or start

panicking. Let us be even more firm, in accordance with our capabilities, efficiency, and responsibility. Let us watch democratic mechanisms, what comes of them, and let us correct what goes wrong in good time. This is the first part.

And the second part: I want to assure you that our people have a profound desire to improve relations with the people of Poland. New opportunities have opened here too. We in the Soviet Union have highly appraised an initiative advanced by the leadership headed by Comrade Jaruzelski, which has tabled interesting proposals aimed at developing our relations and filling them with a new content in economics, science, and in the spiritual sphere. And you know, it looks very interesting. And those of you who have already become engaged in this (?process of implementation) can see that this is right. (?This is the only way to live from now on). You may rest assured that we firmly adhere to friendship with the Polish people—for a long time and forever. Problems can arise here too. But I think that the way things are taking shape now (?with our cooperation) makes it possible for us both to see and to solve all problems in a timely manner and again without getting nervous or giving in to emotions.

I was very pleased to meet you. Again, many thanks for this meeting, for the good mood which is in evidence here. Wojciech Wladyslawovich and I can say one thing: We will cooperate proceeding from our peoples' interests. Thank you very much. [applause]

[Announcer] Now back to Krakow. Its streets, avenues, and squares are full of people. Both the old and the young, as the saying goes, are welcoming Comrade Gorbachev. Conversations spring up literally at every step. Here is an unexpected encounter with an amateur school ensemble from the Ukraine, which has come here at the invitation of their Polish friends. [video of cars driving along the streets of Krakow; Gorbachev and others walking along the street amid cheering crowds; Gorbachev coming up to the Ukrainian group in national costumes]

[Gorbachev] Hello there!

[Group] Hello!

[Gorbachev] How are things going?

[Group] Very well! Mikhail Sergeyevich, we have come to perform here!

[Gorbachev] Sing a Ukrainian song please! Just one verse. [video shows group singing while Gorbachev autographs copies of his book. After some time Gorbachev starts singing another Ukrainian song and the group joins in]

[Announcer] People ask Mikhail Sergeyevich to sign copies of his book on restructuring.

Gorbachev, Jaruzelski Meet Youth

LD1207173588 Moscow TASS in English 1728 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Krakow July 12 TASS—The leadership in the Soviet Union and Poland have realized the role and responsibility of young people, which is evidenced by largely similar approaches to handling youth problems in both countries.

Both nations strive to create conditions for the confident independent start of young people in life and give them a chance for active and real participation in dealing with social and political tasks.

This idea keynoted today's Polish-Soviet youth friendship meeting at Krakow's Wawel Castle.

The audience, including Soviet students enrolled at Krakow higher educational establishments and members of international construction units, greeted with applause the appearance of Mikhail Gorbachev and Wojciech Jaruzelski on Castle Square.

The two leaders addressed the young audience.

Gorbachev Addresses Youth

PM1307110588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 July Second Edition p 2

[TASS report under general headline "Youth Takes Over the Baton" on the speech by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, given at the 12 July youth rally in Krakow]

[Text] Dear friends! From the bottom of my heart I greet you, representatives of the young generation of People's Poland. It is our second day on Polish soil, but we have already formed many impressions. The main impression among them, which sums it up, is that Soviet-Polish friendship, our ties, and our cooperation is on the increase. Our meetings and conversation with residents of Warsaw testify to this better than any figures. [This and following additions and variations are reported by Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1744 GMT on 12 July. The live television version of the speech includes in the previous sentence: "...residents of Warsaw and ancient Krakow testify to this..."] Today we can say that our people's sincere interest in each other is increasing. Readiness is being shown to tackle together the complex [The television version omits "complex"] tasks of restructuring and socialist renewal. We have become closer, and feel the need to carry on, hand in hand. We are very pleased with this. I want to state here, in front of the Polish youth, and your guests, young Soviet citizens, that our friendship and alliance with Poland is of everlasting value.

Dear friends! You are entering life at an amazingly interesting although extremely complex time. The civilization of mankind at present is experiencing excessive

and unprecedented burdens. The world is in the grip of great changes. Everything is set in motion and involved in a struggle—in the struggle for survival through preventing nuclear suicide, for deliverance form an ecological disaster, and for putting an end to other calamities which form striking contrasts, dangerous for the whole world, between its various parts; in the struggle for getting a grip on the scientific and technological revolution, and fully subordinating the world's superhuman powers to the goal of serving man; in the struggle for all people being able to choose freely and independently its own way of development and to follow it fearlessly in conditions of civilized relations in the world community.

Socialism itself is going through a tumultuous, far from simple, but also very interesting time. A process of renewal is underway, a process of revolutionary quest. In effect, we are living in the era of the second, after the birth of socialism, but peaceful revolution. It seems to me that such times ought to be to the liking of young people. At all times youth has been and will remain the hope of the future. The destiny of a people and a country, and the make-up of an era depend on the energy, world outlook, social standpoint, and moral health of young people. One can devise plans which strike the imagination, but they cannot be implemented without the selflessness and faith of the young generation in those plans. It is only when the cause of elders is supported and continued by the young that it acquires viability, that the link between times becomes strong, and that the past serves the present and future.

However, for young people to become worthy of the crucial epoch, reference points are needed—ethical, ideological, and intellectural reference points. What I want to say to you in this connection is this: We have just come from Poronin; we visited the house in which Lenin lived 75 years ago and experienced tremendous emotion there. Lenin's life and struggle are wonderful examples to young people, a lesson in single-mindedness and loyalty to an idea nourished by great love for people, and merciless realism in seeking out ways and means toward their liberation and happiness. And another thought that strikes one in Poronin is how comparatively recently, from a historical viewpoint, Vladimir Ilich Lenin lived here and how the world has changed since then. To a decisive degree it has changed under the influence of Lenin's political thought and political will. When Lenin lived here in Poronin few realized that the world was approaching an historical turning point. It was Lenin more than anybody else who was preparing that turning point.

I am saying this not simply because we remember and honor Lenin as our great fellow countryman, revolutionary leader, and the founder of the Soviet state. We are going back to Lenin in realizing our restructuring. We check our present-day decisions and deeds against his thoughts and actions. We strive to look at everything and to test ourselves with his view of things, his appraisals of people, and his ability to see the heart of the matter and the progress of time.

I am sharing with you these thoughts which came to me in Poronin, because it seems to me that here lies a lasting lesson for all of us, or even two lessons. One of these is that if in a society objective conditions for progressing in this or that direction mature, that in itself is not enough for success. Of enormous importance is the ability of the political forces to interpret the situation correctly, to lay down a specific plan of action, and to fearlessly submit this plan of action.

The second lesson consists in the fact that no major social transformations—revolutions, reforms—will take place if the people do not want it and if they do not understand how they have to act, so that they not only negate and reject things that are old but they also create new things and build their country with care and skill for the benefit of everyone. Everything our party has been doing in our country during the 3 years of restructuring generally speaking comes precisely to the elaboration—with the participation of the whole people—of exactly that kind of understanding. Apart from everything else, the recently held 19th party conference is also important because it showed that in our country there is understanding of this kind. Furthermore, the cause of restructuring and the cause of reforms has seized the people; they have become involved in transforming the country.

I am now coming to the point of my telling you, the young people, all this. Restructuring, at least in our country, is going to need quite a lot of time. It is a concern for more than one generation. Furthermore, the most important, largest tasks will fall to the lot of those who now are still very young. We, our generation, have started this work and we are hoping to cope with what has fallen to our lot. But of course we would very much like to feel confident that this work is going to be continued by those who replace us.

Young people are critical everywhere and always; they do not like to take anything on trust, they like to look into everything themselves. But I must tell you that some of your Soviet peers did not expect from the older generations, from the party such impartial discussion about the past and such challenge to the present and the future of the country. Some people have even manifested anxiety: Are we not going to harm young people? Are we not going to dispel their faith in socialism? Are we not going to push them away from patriotic stances? Such misgivings can be understood but they are unfounded. No one can be depraved by the truth. People can only be demoralized, confused and driven to their wits' end by the concealment of the truth and by lies.

Nevertheless, you are right to ask me why we are so principally and fearlessly criticizing ourselves. Does it mean that socialism has not vindicated itself? No it does not. Over the 70 years since the Great October Socialist Revolution we have carried out enormous historic work in our country. We have transformed the backward Russia from top to bottom and made it into a great power. And it was only thanks to socialism. It would

have been unattainable along other roads. It was precisely a socialist country that made a decisive contribution to the liberation of Europe from Nazism, which was the first to pave the path into space, and which helped the forces of national liberation to reach the expanses of world politics. It represents a major quantity in the cause of preventing a new world war, which would become a catastrophe for all mankind.

Of course, every patriotic Pole can also say similar things about his country, with due regard for things peculiar to it. I shared the emotion and the joy of your Sejm's deputies, when yesterday they impetuously welcomed Wojciech Jaruzelski, speaking about the achievements of socialist Poland. [The television version includes here: "...the achievements of socialist Poland, the attainments—great attainments—that have taken place on Polish soil."] Indeed, comrades, the peoples that have chosen the socialist path have not erred. Although it is not a bed of roses and does not promise an easy life, it is precisely this path that leads to the genuine national rebirth and social justice. It is precisely this path that in the final reckoning is able to open up the way to the peaks of scientific, technical, and human progress, and to realizing the old and cherished ideals of humanism. It is the young people, today's young people, who will have to implement the major part of this potential, which lies in the nature of socialism.

It has been a tradition that older people like to scold young people, grumble at them, reproach them that, allegedly, in our days we were different. But it's a curious thing—there is probably not and never has been in the history of mankind any generation which in youth has not been famed for something. Twenty-year-old Poles were the heroes of two dramatic anti-tsarist uprisings in the last century. Their coevals, the Russian Decembrists, were the first conscious and organized fighters for the freedom of Russia. The October Socialist Revolution was made by the hands, energy, hearts, and hopes of young people who were the representatives of dozens of peoples inhabiting the Russia of that era. People your age were the heroes of the battles for Moscow and Stalingrad, at Lenino, and Monte Cassino. We value the contribution of Poles to the victory, wherever they fought. Yes, revolutionary storms are close to youth; it likes altering what its fathers did, restructuring the obsolete. This is a great quality of the age of youth; it is its privilege. But one must be able to make sensible use of this quality and privilege, with benefit for one's people and for the country.

With our restructuring we started a major overhaul of society, unprecedented in its scale, daring, and complexity. Now we are seeing how the young people are being drawn into it increasingly actively, confidently, and fervently. [The television version includes in the previous sentence: "...how the young people of the Land of the Soviets are being drawn...."] What is more, it is precisely the ones who developed in the years of stagnation and who were causing us older people the most apprehensions and worries. This is one of the most remarkable victories already gained by restructuring.

Polish young men and women, no less than their Soviet counterparts, love their homeland and want to see socialist Poland finer, better, and stronger. As I understand it, this is more or less what you include in the concept of renewal.

Both our countries, Poland and the Soviet Union, are going through great times. There is a revolution afoot, a radical reworking of the state and society, of the economy and the spiritual sphere. Those who have already trodden a considerable path through life are watching you with understandable envy. They started the revolution but you have to continue it and you are to see its results. The main thing is one's attitude toward life and work.

There is a parable that I quoted in my book: A man comes along and sees some people working, building something. He asks one man: What are you doing? He grumbles: From morning till night we are hauling these damned stones. But another man rises from his knees, straightens up and proudly replies: See, we are building a church! It seems to me that this parable says many things, first and foremost that a man becomes a man not through just any work but work that is carefully thought out and is useful to himself and to others, inspired work, I would say. The kind of work which helps one to forge one's own happiness, both material and spiritual. In other words, work which is highly moral. The renewal and restructuring of socialist society is pure, moral, and vital work. It is my wish that you become infected and catch the disease of this work, and then you will truly be healthy and happy in your life!

One of the tasks of restructuring is to create the necessary conditions for giving young people a start in life. The destiny of restructuring depends in many ways on this, because young people have plenty of energy, they are dynamic, and they have greater capabilities of taking on a revolutionary cause. But restructuring, as a social process, is necessary for them themselves and for the realization of new talents, gifts, and fresh knowledge. It is only in the process of restructuring that young people can understand the vital need for, and the whole majesty of the ideas and the ideals of socialism and be elevated morally.

It was precisely such an approach to young people which was put forward by our party at its 19th party conference. After heated arguments, in which representatives of young people took part, it was decided to work out an integral state policy with regard to the rising generation and to adopt a special law on young people.

Here is another matter of fundamental importance: When people start talking about young people, quite often everything amounts to creating conditions for good

everyday life, leisure, recreation, sports, and so forth. Undoubtedly this is very important. Society is obliged to do this if it, as they say, treats its younger generation in a paternalistic way.

But still I believe the main stress must be on something else, on ensuring that from the earliest years man should be inculcated with a cult of labor, a cult of conscientious, honest, and civilized work. This, friends, is the principle of all principles.

Without a cult of work, a cult of ability, and a cult of professionalism no society can stand its ground, including, of course, socialist society. Work and labor are not merely, and not so much, a source of material and other benefits; first and foremost, they are, perhaps, the foundation of people's ethical upbringing and of society as a whole. Labor is indeed the measure of all things.

The processes of restructuring in the Soviet Union and of renewal of socialism in Poland are similar in many ways. Their common denominator is changes for better in all spheres of life and the establishment of just and humanist relations in society. This is a great and difficult task intended for more than just one year, and I am confident that it will succeed better both for you and for us the more closely and fruitfully our countries and peoples cooperate. This applies perhaps, above all, to young people. In the socialist world there are trains that must not be missed. This was stated once by Wojciech Jaruzelski. I agree with him completely, and would like to wish that you and all your coevals in Poland and in the Soviet Union do not miss the train of restructuring, the train of renewal. [The television version includes here: "...the train of renewal. Without you, it cannot pick up the necessary speed."]

Youth is a wonderful time. It has a great deal of strength and energy; there is a freshness of feelings and a boldness of intentions: these are its important advantages. But one has to husband these advantages ably and, I would say, in good time in order to avoid living an idle and dependent life. One should not expect heavenly manna from one's elders or from society, but take one's own destiny and the destiny of one's country into one's own hands. Do not forget this, friends.

May you forge your own happiness! May you be energetic and enterprising builders of people's socialist Poland! May Soviet-Polish links grow and strengthen from decade to decade, from generation to generation! I wish you all the very best. [The television version includes here: "...all the very best, and all that is most radiant on your way through life! Thank you."] Goodbye!

Jaruzelski Youth Speech Cited

LD1207183988 Moscow TASS in English 1832 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Krakow July 12 TASS—"Poland's socialist youth organisations have since long maintained cordial ties with the Soviet Leninist Komsomol," Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and chairman of the State Council, has pointed out.

The Polish leader was addressing Polish and Soviet youth at a meeting in Krakow today.

He recalled the years of World War II when Krakow, as a result of a brilliant manoeuvre by the 1st Ukrainian front under Marshal Ivan Konev, was saved from destruction and Poland from the loss of that invaluable symbol of state strength and continuity of national culture.

Mentioning historic changes that were taking place on both banks of the Bug River, Jaruzelski described perestroyka and socialist renewal policies as a common pass into the 21st century.

He observed that the 19th nationwide conference of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union "has graphically shown that the Soviet land has been getting younger since the memorable April, 1985 plenary meeting, living through a period of rise, proving to the entire world the invigorating and creative strength of our ideas."

Soviet youth were making a weighty contribution to that process, he added.

Young people, the speaker went on to say, "have always and everywhere displayed critical attitude to reality. Stagnation, incapacity and conservatism particularly dishearten young people. The values of socialism, which is a system of social justice, are naturally interrelated with the sensitivity of young people to falsehood and untruth."

Addressing the Polish participants in the meeting, Jaruzelski stated that the Poland they would have to build "should develop fast and buttress its positions in the socialist community, dealing successfully with the present-day tasks."

He recalled that the recent 7th plenary meeting of the PUWP Central Committee had embarked on the firm course towards deepening and speeding up reforms in all spheres of life.

Referring to Mikhail Gorbachev, Jaruzelski said that he had gained "sincere sympathy and genuine popularity."

It was remarkable, he went on to say, that Polish young people enthusiastically took up a song with the unpretentious refrain "Mikhail, Mikhail."

"This ditty has not been ordered or authorised by any official body. This is a spontaneous manifestation of sentiments and hopes associated with you," the Polish leader said, addressing Gorbachev.

Gorbachev Returns to Warsaw

LD1207224588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] After getting to know Krakow, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and those accompanying him returned to Warsaw.

Leaves Warsaw for Szczecin

LD1307094688 Moscow TASS in English 0914 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw July 13 TASS—By TASS special correspondents:

Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who is Poland on an official friendly visit, left Warsaw for Szczecin early today. The programme of the tour to this major industrial centre of Poland includes a meeting with the workers of the Adolf Warski Shipyard. Mikhail Gorbachev and Wojciech Jaruzelski will take part in the Soviet-Polish friendship rally. The general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee will see the sights of the city and its environs.

Gerasimov Views First Round of Warsaw Talks

LD1107205188 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 11 Jul 88

[No video available]

[Text] The Soviet and Polish Government press spokesmen [Gennadiy Gerasimov and Jerzy Urban] met with journalists in the INTERPRESS press center for their first news conference. Before the news conference began, they replied to questions from television news:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent in Russian with superimposed Polish translation] I realize that on the 1st day of the visit, one cannot yet speak of any results, but what are your first impressions?

[Gerasimov in Russian with superimposed Polish translation] This is a marvelous beginning. This is the meeting of two friends, the creators of reconstruction, although in your country, it is called socialist renewal. In general, it is felt that this visit is not so much a breakthrough, more one of raising the level of our relations. Much is forecast on this subject. We will see how these things develop further.

[Correspondent] One last question now. What do you regard as most important in these relations?

[Gerasimov] I judge that the most important is the completion by you of the process of socialist renewal and by us of restructuring, which will allow us to progress further together.

[Correspondent] And what are your impressions after this 1st [word indistinct] day of the visit?

[Urban] We decided to (?receive) our guest most sincerely. An enormous ammount of information has come from across the whole country, that the visit (?arouses) exceptional interest, is received with extraordinary liveliness. Well, I talked with General Jaruzelski just after his talks with Mikhail Gorbachev. He was deeply impressed by the sincere atmosphere of his personal and friendly relations with the guest. Over and above that, well, he said that the agreement of views was so great that it is difficult to qualify it.

[Correspondent] Thank you very much. [end recording]

TRYBUNA LUDU Editor on Gorbachev Visit

LD1307090488 Moscow TASS in English 0848 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw July 13 TASS—"The speech by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee at the Polish Sejm and its consonance with the speech by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, has confirmed again that the USSR and Poland have the same views and are marching in the same direction along the road of socialist changes," said Jerzy Majka, editor-in-chief of "TRYBUNA LUDU", the main organ of the PUWP Central Committee, in an interview with TASS correspondent Viktor Runov.

Poles feel themselves the most devoted advocates of Soviet perestroyka in which they see many traits of Polish socialist renovation, he noted. It is perestroyka in the USSR that lends them optimism and inspires confidence in their forces and brings the Soviet and Polish peoples as close together as never before, said the editor.

The general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Jerzy Majka holds, is for Poles a personification of socialism, understandable and close to ordinary people, since reforms proclaimed in the USSR are aimed at democratization of political life and assertion of socialist principles and humanism.

Warsaw residents who had witnessed hundreds of official visits, regard Gorbachev's arrival as something extraordinary. They do not like excessive primness, and from the very first minutes of his stay on Polish soil, the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee behaved himself in a cordial and non-official manner. On several occasions he stopped all of a sudden en route from the airport and struck free and easy conversations with Warsaw residents. These fleeting meetings which had no high political meaning, as it were, strengthened Warsaw residents' opinion that they have the honour of receiving the most popular and efficient politician in the world, said Jerzy Majka.

Further on Ryzhkov's Official Visit to CSSR

Received by Jakes

PM1207102388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "The Foundation of Socialist Economic Integration"]

[Text] Prague, 6 Jul—CPCZ Central Committee General Secretary M. Jakes today received the leaders of the delegations participating in the 44th meeting of the CEMA session.

The meeting was attended by N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and other leaders of CEMA countries' delegations, as well as heads of delegations participating in the session work in observer capacity.

The meeting took place in a friendly, comradely atmosphere.

Meets With Jakes

PM1207101588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
9 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under headline "Conversations in Prague"]

[Text] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, met in Prague today with Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

They held an exchange of opinions on a number of topical questions related to the internal life of both countries, development of cooperation among states of the socialist community, and international relations.

Ryzhkov spoke of the course and results of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and emphasized that it had confirmed the irreversibility of the process of perestroyka and democratization in the USSR.

In this connection, Jakes emphasized that the CPCZ and the Czechoslovak public followed with exceeding interest the work of the Soviet Communists forum. The results of the all-union party conference have international importance. They are a source of inspiration and an impetus for the deepening of positive changes in the political, economic, and public life not only in the Soviet Union but also in Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries.

Both sides noted that the main aim of economic and social perestroyka based on the deepening of social democracy is the speeding up of the social and economic development of society, the creation of conditions for satisfying better the material and spiritual needs of people. The leading role of the party, its militancy, unity, cohesion, and close ties with the people, are a requisite condition for the successful implementation of the tasks outlined.

Both representatives noted that the changes taking place in Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union have numerous similar features and common goals. This creates favorable conditions for the further deepening of all-around cooperation and consolidation of relations of friendship between the two fraternal countries.

In this connection, the participants in the meeting gave attention to the results of the 44th sitting of the CMEA session that just ended. They emphasized the need for consistent implementation of the decisions made, the speeding up the pace of the restructuring of the mechanism, and the use of new forms and methods of economic and scientific and technological cooperation of socialist countries.

When the foreign policy situation was discussed, Jakes and Ryzhkov noted with satisfaction that new political thinking implemented by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries helps create a favorable atmosphere in international relations. In connection with this, the sides emphasized the need for concerted action of countries of the socialist community, their development of broad cooperation with anti-war and democratic movements, with realistically minded political forces of the whole world in creating a comprehensive security system.

Emphasizing the importance of the continued dialogue between the USSR and the USA at the summit level, Jakes and Ryzhkov expressed the hope for a successful conclusion of the Vienna meeting of representatives of the participating countries in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the interest of the two countries in a positive course of the work of the Geneva conference on disarmament.

Confers With Strougal, Adamec

PM1207130588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
9 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Exchange of Views Continued"]

[Text] Prague, 8 Jul—On 7 July after the conclusion of the work of the CEMA session, a meeting was held, within the framework of the official friendly visit to Czechoslovakia, between N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and L. Strougal, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and premier of the Czechoslovak Government.

The exchange of views on the progress of the implementation of the economic reform in both countries and on the results of the 19th all-union party conference and their influence on the course of socialist building was continued.

The two countries' heads of government discussed further details pertaining to the questions examined during the 4 July talks, paying great attention to further developing Soviet-Czechoslovak economic cooperation. The need for a broader utilization of progressive forms of cooperation, and in particular, direct contacts and the establishment of joint enterprises, was emphasized. It was noted that the fundamental changes in the economic sphere presuppose a democratization of social life.

Both sides assessed positively the results of the 44th CEMA session meeting and the implementation of decisions which have marked a significant step forward in the restructuring of the socialist and economic integration mechanism, efficient division of labor between CEMA member countries, and the establishment of preconditions for the creation of a unified between these countries.

N.I. Ryzhkov and L. Strougal also exchanged views on topical problems of the international situation, stressing the importance of further progress in the disarmament sphere and development of political dialogue between states with different social systems.

The conversation which took place in a cordial, comradely atmosphere was attended by V.P. Lomakin, USSR ambassador to Czechoslovakia.

N.I. Ryzhkov met on 7 July with L. Adamec, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and premier of the Czech Government.

In the course of a friendly conversation, possibilities of further deepening bilateral cooperation, including in the implementation of the decisions of the 44th CEMA session meeting, were discussed. L. Adamec spoke about the experience of the Czech Government in the restructuring of the economic mechanism and the process of democratization.

During the conversation, much attention was devoted to the results of the 19th all-union party conference and their international significance.

Bratislava Speech, Activities

PM1207130788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Meetings in Fraternal Slovakia"]

[Text] Bratislava, 9 Jul—A meeting between N.I. Ryzhkov and the leaders of the Slovak Socialist Republic was held at Bratislava Castle. It was attended by I. Janak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee; P. Colotka, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and premier of the Slovak Government; V. Salgovic, member of the CPSL Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Slovak National Council; and other Slovak leaders. L. Strougal, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and premier of the Czechoslovak Government, also took part in the meeting. Present on the Soviet side were A.K. Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and V.P. Lomakin, USSR ambassador to the CSSR.

I. Janak briefed the Soviet guest on the work of the republic party organization in implementing the decisions of the 17th CPCZ Congress, the labor achievements of Slovakia's working people, and the development of friendly interregional ties and direct production contacts between the republic's enterprises and Soviet partners. He appraised highly the significance of the restructuring under way in the Soviet Union and whose ideas represent a mighty source of experience and inspiration for the Czechoslovak Communists, too.

The meeting passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

A dinner in honor of N.I. Ryzhkov was given today on behalf of the leadership of the Slovak Socialist Republic. Apart from N.I. Ryzhkov, the dinner was attended by the officials who are accompanying him on his trip. Present on the Czechoslovak side were L. Strougal, I. Janak, P. Colotka, V. Salgovic, and other Slovak leaders.

A speech was delivered at the dinner by P. Colotka, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and premier of the Slovak Government. He said: Esteemed Soviet comrades and friends, after our meeting and talks at the ancient Bratislava Castle and after your visit to the industrial plant and the agricultural cooperative at Salanad-Vahom, allow me to welcome you on behalf of the CPSL Central Committee, the Slovak National Council, and the Slovak Government, as well as on behalf of all the comrades present here and myself.

Your talks with the leading representatives of the CPCZ and our state, Comrade Ryzhkov, are an important step forward in deepening and developing Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation and in raising it to a qualitatively higher level in line with this crucial and revolutionary era for the peoples of our countries and for world socialism.

This year our peoples—Czechs, Slovaks, and national minorities—are marking the anniversaries of a number of important historical events, the 70th anniversary of the foundation of Czechoslovakia, the 40th anniversary of the working people's victory in February 1948, and, finally, with a feeling of grief, we are also marking the 50th anniversary of the tragic Munich Agreement. Recalling these events and assessing their significance, we understand even better and are even more deeply aware of the significance of the friendship, alliance, and cooperation with the Soviet Union in our historical development and the struggle for national liberation and social progress.

Our party must persistently strive to overcome all the elements of braking, implement single-mindedly the program of restructuring and democratization, and unite the working class, cooperative farmers, and intelligentsia, indeed all the creative forces of Czechoslovakia's peoples and national minorities, in the interests of our socialist aims.

We are pleased that under the impact of, above all, the 7th and 10th CPCZ Central Committee Plenums, there are more and more people who not only understand the inevitability of restructuring but also want to contribute to its success by their work. In this our endeavor we will continue to draw strength from and utilize the experience of the fraternal socialist countries, and primarily the Soviet Union. We are aware that restructuring and raising socialism to a higher level demand close cooperation and the development of the modern forms of cooperation for which restructuring, in turn, is offering unprecedented scope. For this reason, we ardently welcome, esteemed Comrade Ryzhkov, the results of your talks in Prague with Comrade Strougal and our other representatives.

P. Colotka proposed a toast in honor of the strong and indestructible friendship and fruitful cooperation between the people of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, for the development of socialism in the world, and for the growth of the forces of peace, democracy, and progress.

Then N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, delivered a speech. He said: Allow me to express sincere appreciation to the leadership of the CPSL Central Committee, the Slovak Government, and the Slovak National Council for the invitation to visit the republic and to thank them for their warm welcome and hospitality. Deep historical roots, a close alliance between our parties, and the indestructible friendship of our peoples bind us to the Slovaks and Czechs.

In August, Czechoslovakia's working people will mark the 44th anniversary of the Slovak national uprising. The heroism and selflessness of its participants, their will and striving for victory, won them the recognition of the peoples of Europe. During the difficult days of the uprising, in which Soviet partisans also took part, Soviet-Slovak friendship was tempered and sealed with blood shed together.

You have achieved a great deal, thanks to the Slovak people's selfless labor under the leadership of the Communist Party and with the assistance of the fraternal Czech people. A modern industry and developed agriculture have been created in the republic. You have a right to be proud of your achievements in the social sphere. I will go further and say that the experience gained from the Slovak Socialist Republic's development as an integral part of the Czechoslovak national economic complex and, at the same time, as a national republic, is of great interest to us.

We greatly value the cooperation which has developed between a number of regions of the Soviet Union and Slovakia. It would be possible today to cite quite a few examples to illustrate how close production collaboration between Soviet and Slovak enterprises is helping to resolve important tasks, making it possible to expand deliveries based on production sharing, and enhance the technological standard of production.

Here in Slovakia, the Soviet-Czechoslovak "Robot" association, which is pioneering new forms of cooperation, is gathering strength. Having overcome the difficulties of the organizational stage, the association is beginning to make its contribution to the solution of the tasks of scientific and technical progress in our countries. The joint Soviet-Czechoslovak laboratory for biotechnology in livestock raising is developing its work.

The socialist countries' successes in all spheres are well known. At the same time, world socialism is currently going through a complex and crucial stage, the essence of which lies in the transition to a qualitatively new level of development. The 19th all-union party conference revealed this with utmost objectivity.

Negative processes which are impeding integration are currently making themselves felt in the socialist countries' economic cooperation. The task of structural restructuring is in the forefront. The question of modernizing the community countries' production base is posed with the utmost urgency. Without that, successful progress can hardly be expected.

The Soviet Union is tackling key tasks in accelerating scientific and technical progress, assimilating modern forms of economic ties, and improving international economic relations in close cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries. Integration is an objective necessity of the times which is asserting itself throughout the world. No one doubts today that any country's economy is doomed to fall behind if it does not rely on broad international ties. This also applies to the USSR economy, despite its dimensions and multisector character.

And so, a time of profound changes has arrived in the cooperation among the fraternal countries. The internationalization of economic ties has become a vital task. And that means that all of us must restructure the mechanism of socialist integration and master new methods of cooperation, voluntarily, of course, on the basis of a joint quest for ways to enhance efficiency.

The 44th CEMA session ended 2 days ago. The decisions which it adopted will be of great significance for accelerating integration and strengthening and expanding

production sharing relations. Implementing these decisions will enable all socialist countries to draw full benefit from international cooperation.

For our country, the Soviet Union, the internationalization of the economy and of all social life is of great importance also for another reason: the reason that our state is a multinational state and that there is probably no sphere of social life which we do not have to contemplate also from the viewpoint of interethnic relations.

There is probably no sphere of life now where restructuring and democratization do not exert their positive influence, do not create conditions for renewal and progress.

We are convinced that this applies in equal measure also to Soviet-Czechoslovak relations and to cooperation among all socialist countries.

Socialism as a doctrine came into being as a reflection of the fundamental interests and aspirations of the working masses. Socialism as a system and a reality of our time can and must provide the answers to the questions posed by history. The communist parties of our countries and the peoples of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia regard this as their aim and their line.

N.I. Ryzhkov proposed a toast in honor of Soviet-Czechoslovak friendship and the translation of the noble ideals of socialism into reality.

The speeches by Comrades P. Colotka and N.I. Ryzhkov were listened to with great attention and greeted with applause.

The dinner passed in a cordial and comradely atmosphere.

Earlier in the day, N.I. Ryzhkov had visited the "Duslo" chemical plant at Sala. It specializes in the production of fertilizers, ammonia, nitric acid, and other chemicals both used in Czechoslovakia and exported to socialist and capitalist countries.

Then the head of the Soviet Government acquainted himself with the work of the "Druzba" agricultural cooperative. The high-ranking Soviet guest inquired about the cooperative farmers' working and living conditions, inspected agricultural machinery, and visited a livestock unit.

N.I. Ryzhkov was accompanied by L. Strougal, I. Janak, and P. Colotka.

Today N.I. Ryzhkov ended his official friendly visit to the CSSR and left Bratislava for Moscow. A.K. Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and V.G. Komplektov, USSR deputy foreign minister, left by air with him.

N.I. Ryzhkov was seen off at the airport, decked out with the USSR and CSSR state flags, by L. Strougal, I. Janak, P. Colotka, V. Salgovic, and other officials.

Among those seeing him off was V.P. Lomakin, USSR ambassador to the CSSR.

On the same day N.I. Ryzhkov returned to Moscow. He had been in Czechoslovakia on an official friendly visit at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee and the CSSR Government. From 5-7 July, the head of the Soviet Government had taken part in the work of the 44th CEMA session in Prague.

He was welcomed at the airport by L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom; N.V. Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Yu.P. Batalin and V.K. Gusev, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers; M.S. Smirtyukov, USSR Council of Ministers administrator of affairs; USSR Ministers A.N. Volkov, K.F. Katushev, and N.A. Pugin; Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister; and other officials.

Among those welcoming him was also Z. Cerny, Czechoslovak charge d'affaires ad interim in the USSR.

West Europe

Thatcher's Reaction to Airbus 'Crime' Decried

LD1207182888 Moscow World Service in English 1710 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] What does Mrs Thatcher defend: the right to self-defense or the arbitrary role of an ally? When the British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher answered questions put to her by Soviet people by telephone on Monday's BBC Russian Service program, she answered a question asked by our reporter Aleksandr Volkov. Volkov asked Mrs Thatcher whether her position had changed after THE SUNDAY TIMES publication of British intelligence information, according to which the Iranian plane did not stray off course, and for this reason could not have aroused the suspicion that it was going to attack an American ship. Our observer Stanislav Vasilyev writes:

[Vasilyev] Margaret Thatcher seems to have been the only foreign leader to openly support the American Administration's official version that the American cruiser was acting in self-defense when it fired two missiles on the Airbus. In her answer to our reporter, Mrs Thatcher stuck to this story, although quite a few facts (?were refuted). Mrs Thatcher said that what had happened would be analyzed for days, weeks, and even

months. She kept on repeating that when naval forces were threatened they had the right to defend themselves, and that air and naval units must not be left without the right to defend themselves.

According to a secret report prepared by British intelligence services on the results of an investigation into how the Iranian Airbus was shot down—this report was published by THE SUNDAY TIMES of London—the action by the United States Navy is censured and the conclusion is made that a British naval force would not open fire on a plane. One may infer from this Mrs Thatcher may not have known about the conclusion by British intelligence experts, otherwise she would have hardly supported the American military action.

But now the prime minister knows everything, although she backs up the United States' story. Perhaps (?it's) solidarity with NATO. And this means justifying the allies' arbitrary rule or, to be more precise, justifying and covering up the crime committed by the American military, who callously did away with nearly 300 innocent passengers aboard the Airbus following its route. The support for the American version of self-defense makes this tragedy logical rather than accidental. Indeed, if the American forces are allowed to open fire without delay in the Persian Gulf and such actions are justified as the right to self-defense in advance, then it only remains for us to wait for more horrible news from the region daily, and expect an aggravation of the conflict there.

Can this be avoided? To avoid this, foreign fleets—above all the American armada—should be withdrawn from the Gulf and a United Nations naval force be brought in to guarantee security. This would defuse the situation and help to end the war between Iran and Iraq.

FRG Bundestag President Arrives for Visit

LD1007192488 Moscow TASS in English 1822 GMT 10 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 10 TASS—Bernhard Vogel, president of the West German Bundesrat, arrived in Moscow on an official visit today at the invitation of the chairmen of the USSR Supreme Soviet's both chambers.

Received by Gromyko

PM1207153988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Reception of Bundesrat President"]

[Text] On 11 July A.A. Gromyko received in the Kremlin Bernhard Vogel, president of the Bundesrat (Federal Assembly) and prime minister of the Rhineland-Palatinate. The guest from West Germany is one of the leaders of the ruling party—the Christian Democratic Union—and is in our country at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Certain basic questions concerning European security, above all problems of reducing nuclear and conventional arms, and questions of bilateral relations were discussed during the friendly conversation.

Bernhard Vogel expressed West Germany's viewpoint on the development of integrational processes in Europe. The contacts between the EEC and CEMA, which are placed on a legal basis, are now one of the most important directions in the creation of the "common European home," he said. The development of intensive ties between the FRG and the GDR is also a contribution to the construction of such a home.

The Soviet side pointed to the need for decisive efforts to overcome differences on a number of problems between the East and the West and for a transition to the vigorous construction of what is now described as the "common European home."

No one can accuse the Soviet Union, in the course of Soviet-American talks, of trying to drive a wedge or even to bring some coolness in the relations between West European states and the USA, Andrey Gromyko said. In creating more flexible relations with the USA, we have not been trying at all to lessen or play down our ties with Western Europe.

And the FRG itself could feel that no such attempts have been made, in light of the contacts between Soviet representatives and West German diplomats or influential people in the business world. We emphasized and continue to emphasize that we wish not only to preserve the present-day level of relations between the USSR and the FRG, but to bring them to a higher plane. The result will certainly depend on the actions of the two sides. The FRG, too, should display the striving toward a higher level of relations. There is a considerable untapped potential in this direction, Andrey Gromyko said.

Addressing the theme of relations between the FRG and the GDR, Andrey Gromyko emphasized that the Soviet Union holds the principled viewpoint that these relations should be built as relations between two independent states—precisely independent. We do not have nor can we have any other stand.

As for West Berlin, the Soviet side holds a principled stand in this matter as well. The existing four-power agreement must be observed, and this agreement moreover in no way limits the possibilities for the development of relations between the FRG and the GDR, Gromyko said.

The interlocutors pointed out the growing dynamism of Soviet-West German political dialogue and the mutual wish of the sides to actively meet each other halfway. It was noted that the coming summit meetings between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Helmut Kohl, federal chancellor of the FRG, must give an important impetus in this sense.

They expressed confidence that these meetings will become most important milestones in the development of Soviet-West German relations.

Andrey Gromyko noted the importance of commercial, economic, scientific, and technological cooperation between the USSR and the FRG as a promising way to advance. The participation of FRG firms in the implementation of wide-ranging projects in the USSR would promote the creation of a favorable political atmosphere.

There are many specialists in Slavic studies in our country, and many Germanists in your country, Bernhard Vogel said. Now we want representatives of technical specialities in both countries to study more, using each other's languages.

This is an important thought and one cannot but go along with it, Andrey Gromyko answered.

The sides also discussed the crucial problem: removing the threat of war and safeguarding peace.

Andrey Gromyko spoke about what the Soviet Union is doing toward achieving this goal. The whole world highly assessed the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. Talks continue on the conclusion of an agreement on the reduction of strategic offensive arms. All these are concrete actions in the same mainstream. The Soviet side approve of any step on the part of the FRG that would lead toward the prevention of nuclear or any other war, toward the reduction of conventional armaments and the elimination of chemical weapons.

At the request of the guest from the FRG, Andrey Gromyko summed up the results of the 19th all-union party conference and emphasized that the Soviet people are fully determined to implement all the planned transformations. Our people are capable of solving the immense problems of restructuring and are optimistic about the future, Gromyko said.

[Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 13 July 1988 in its Morning Edition carries an identical report on page 4, adding the following concluding paragraph:

["The following were present at the conversation: A.G. Kovalev, USSR first deputy foreign minister; V.P. Parkhitko, assistant to the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Georg-Berndt Oschatz, assistant to the president of the Bundesrat; and Alexander Arno, FRG charge d'affaires in the USSR."]

Vogel Requests Rust Pardon

LD1107122588 Hamburg DPA in German 1133 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—During talks with Soviet head of state Andrey Gromyko today, Bernhard Vogel, prime minister of Rhineland-Palatinate and current president of the Bundesrat, made an appeal on behalf of German amateur pilot Mathias Rust. According to sources in the delegation, Vogel supported the current appeal for clemency for Rust, who landed his light plane in Red Square 1 year ago and was subsequently sentenced to 4 years imprisonment. In a 1 and ½-hour exchange of opinions, Vogel and Gromyko also discussed European issues and FRG-USSR relations.

A Bundesrat spokesman said in Moscow today that Vogel had told Gromyko that Rust had indeed done an unpardonably stupid thing, but nonetheless he was young and should be given a fresh chance. The Bundesrat president expressed gratitude that the "number of German emigrants" had shown "a very positive trend."

Gromyko stressed that the good USSR-FRG relations would not negatively influence FRG-U.S. relations. On economic issues, Gromyko emphasized the need to increase the number of FRG-Soviet joint enterprises.

Vogel is visiting the USSR at the invitation of the chairmen of both chambers of the Supreme Soviet. He will meet Aleksey Antonov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Central Committee Secretary Anatoliy Dobrynin, among others. The only visit planned outside of Moscow is to Trinity Monastery in Zagorsk. Vogel will fly back to the FRG on Thursday.

Latin America & Caribbean

Akhromeyev Arrives on Official Visit to Cuba

LD1207145288 Moscow TASS in English 1442 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Havana July 12 TASS—Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Akhromeyev arrived in Havana on an official friendly visit today at the invitation of General of the Army Raul Castro, Minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Cuba.

At the Jose Marti International Airport, Akhromeyev and his entourage were welcomed by Raul Castro and other officials.

Nicaragua Expels U.S. Ambassador, Other Diplomats

LD1207081688 Moscow TASS in English 0610 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Managua July 12 TASS—The Government of Nicaragua has announced U.S. Ambassador in Nicaragua Richard Melton and seven employees of the American diplomatic representation persona non grata for their interference into internal affairs of the republic.

The diplomats, involved in anti-Nicaraguan activities, should leave the country within 72 hours, Nicaragua's Foreign Minister Miguel d'Escoto said at a press conference held here. Richard Melton's actions are incompatible with his status, he

underlined. On behalf of the government he lodged resolute protest with the U.S. Administration over the invigoration of terrorist activities of the Somoza Men, financed and armed by Washington.

Miguel d'Escoto demanded immediate compliance with the ruling of the U.N. International Court which calls for termination of any U.S. support for the Somoza counterrevolutionaries and respect for Nicaragua's right to independent and sovereign development.

Diplomats Depart for U.S.

LD1307082488 Moscow TASS in English 0734 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Managua July 13 TASS—TASS correspondent Andrey Kurguzov reports:

U.S. Ambassador in Nicaragua Richard Melton and seven other American diplomats, announced persona non grata by the government of the republic, have been sent out to the United States today in a plane of a private American air company.

Before boarding the plane Richard Melton refused to make any oral statements for the press and distributed a written communique of the U.S. Embassy which actually denounces Nicaragua's actions and contains undisguised threats to the Sandinist government. The communique underlines that the future of the Washington-Managua relations will depend on the development of the political events in Nicaragua, by which the U.S. ambassador implies an unlimited freedom of action for the right-wing reaction and opposition.

Commentator Views Expulsion

LD1207223088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1628 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Excerpts] We have already reported that the Nicaraguan Government has declared persona non grata seven U.S. diplomats, headed by Ambassador Richard Melton. I will ask Yuriy Isayev, my colleague, to comment on this report.

[Isayev] It is indisputable that the Sandinist government has made a difficult but necessary decision; a difficult one, because in this complex situation a further worsening may occur in the relations with the United States, which will certainly respond with new repressions and provocations by using as a pretext the expulsion of the U.S. diplomats. The necessity of this solution is caused by an overt incompatibility with the diplomatic status of the actions of Ambassador Melton and his subordinates.

The so-called Melton plan has become knwon to the Nicaraguan Government. According to it, the U.S. Embassy should act as an organizer and instigator of people's actions and unrest because of the economic difficulties being experienced in Nicaragua. Incidentally, these difficulties represent a direct result of the blockade of the powerful northern neighbor.

Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega described the actions of the U.S. diplomats as an infringement of the independence of a sovereign state and interference in its internal affairs. Facts provide the evidence that Melton's plan has already started functioning and gathering speed.

Organization of anti-government demonstrations 2 days ago in the little town of Nandaime, 60 kilometers from managua was successful. This action was planned in the studies of the U.S. Embassy. [passage omitted]

The facts say that through the fault of Washington the peaceful talks in Nicaragua have not, unfortunately, brought concrete results. The United States has only for a certain period slightly relaxed pressure in its attempt to create an illusion of a quest for peaceful solutions. This geature was calculated with the world public in view. The game is now—as it appears—drawing to a close. New millions for the contras are being asekd for, the cease-fire announced by the Sandinist government is being violated and the U.S. Embassy in Managua is intensifying its subversive activity. [passage omitted]

Political & Social

Azerbaijan Rejects NKAO Secession Decision

LD1307133488 Moscow TASS in English 1330 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Baku July 13 TASS—The Nagorno-Karabakh [NKAO] regional Soviet of People's Deputies at a session in Stepanakert on July 12 took a decision on the autonomous region's secession from Azerbaijan.

The Soviet of People's Deputies of the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region, the decision said, regarded as solely acceptable for the region the implementation of the decision of the Armenian Supreme Soviet's decision of June 15, 1988 on the issue of Nagorno-Karabakh.

The session assigned the Executive Committee of the Regional Soviet of People's Deputies to tend in a corresponding request on renaming the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region into the Artsakh Armenian Autonomous Region. [sentence as received]

Despite the call from the deputies to end strikes, all industrial enterprises in the city remained idle on July 13. Public and city transport did not function, all shops selling manufactured goods were closed, so were consumer service outlets.

Field work continued.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan at its evening session in Baku on July 12 considered the decision of the Nagorno-Karabakh Soviet of People's Deputies.

The resolution, adopted by the Presidium, stressed that the regional Soviet of People's Deputies failed to secure strict compliance with principles of legality and obligatory character of decisions of higher bodies for the lower ones, which should be followed by all state bodies, and openly encroached on the national state composition of the republic endorsed by the Constitution of the USSR and the Constitution of Soviet Azerbaijan.

This inflicted serious damage to the process of perestroika in the region, diverted working people from the solution of urgent tasks of the region's social and economic development and the practical implementation of the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On Measures To Speed Up the Social and Economic Development of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomus Region of the Azerbaijani Soviet Socialist Republic in 1988-1995."

The Presidium of Azerbaijan's Supreme Soviet proclaimed the decision of the session of Nagorno-Karabakh's Soviet of People's Deputies null and void and revoked it on the strength of Article 87 of the USSR Constitution, Article 114 of the Constitution of Azerbaijan and Article 42 of the Law of the Azerbaijani Soviet Socialist Republic on the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region.

DPA on NKAO Soviet Session

LD1207202988 Hamburg DPA in German 1957 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Excerpts] Moscow (DPA)—The local Soviet (parliament) of Nagorno-Karabakh, situated in the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan, again voted in favor of annexing the region to the Soviet Republic of Armenia at a session on Tuesday. This was announced by a representative of the Soviet to the Second German Television (ZDF) correspondent in Moscow by telephone. It was also decided to name Nagorno-Karabakh the "Artsakh Armenian Autonomous Region" in the future. [passage omitted]

According to this information, 101 deputies voted for the renaming and annexation of Nagorno-Karabakh. One Azerbaijani deputy abstained. The deputies also discussed the food supply industry in Nagorno-Karabakh, which has been on strike for months.

'Rejoicing' in Yerevan

AU1307112088 Paris AFP in English 1051 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Sophie Shihab report]

[Excerpts] Moscow, July 13 (AFP)—The decision by the Soviet region of Nagorno-Karabakh to secede from Azerbaijan has provoked a constitutional crisis, with Azerbaijan viewing the move as illegal and demonstrators in neighboring Armenia rejoicing publicly.

The parliament of the autonomous Nagorno-Karabakh region, dominated by ethnic Armenians, on Tuesday voted in favor of secession from the mainly-Muslim Azerbaijan Republic, as a first step towards incorporation within the mainly Christian Armenian Republic.

News of the vote was neither officially announced in Moscow nor in Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan, but 200,000 people who had gathered in the Armenian capital of Yerevan Tuesday, for the third day running, rejoiced at the news, eyewitnesses told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE.

Meanwhile, a spokesman for the Azerbaijan Foreign Ministry told AFP Wednesday that "one thing is certain, with regard to Article 78 of the Constitution, the secession of Nagorno-Karabakh is illegal."

Article 78 requires that any territorial change to the republic be approved by the Azerbaijan parliament which refused on June 17 a demand for the incorporation of Nagorno-Karabakh into Armenia.

The enclave became part of the Azerbaijan in 1923.

In Nagorno-Karabakh's main city of Stepanakert, the local newspaper, SOVETSKIY KARABAKH, on Wednesday published the text of the resolution adopted by parliament Tuesday, along with a call for a return to work, newspaper staff told AFP.

The situation in the town was described as calm while the general strike, which began on May 23, was still in effect pending voting later Wednesday on a return to work, the sources said.

Troops were still deployed throughout town, but there were neither tanks, nor armored vehicles and no public meeting had been called, sources added.

Tuesday, troops prevented the gathering of some 40,000 ethnic Armenians outside parliament as the vote on secession was taking place.

In Yerevan, however, the situation appeared to be more tense with demonstrators at Tuesday's gathering calling on workers to remain on strike. The work stoppage, "at some businesses", was called nine days ago after a special Communist Party conference in Moscow failed to deal with the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh. [passage omitted]

In another development, Armenian sources said that dozens of people suspected of involvement in clashes with Soviet troops last Tuesday at Yerevan airport, in which dozens of people were injured and at least one shot dead, had been arrested.

KOMSOMOL PRAVDA, the youth organisation newspaper, reported Wednesday that "about 20" Armenian organization members had sent membership cards back to protest the intervention by troops at the aiport.

Armenian sources put the figure of returned cards at "several hundred". [passage omitted]

Armenian Communist Party Reacts to Disorders

Arutyunyan Appeal Broadcast

LD1307045088 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 2030 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Speech by Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee; date, place not given—read by announcer]

[Text] Dear compatriots, in this grave moment, with pain in my heart and profoundly embittered, I call on you in connection with the dramatic situation in which we are involved.

Endless meetings, strikes, disorders, and threats are debilitating the normal life of the republic, raising disquiet and anguish in the hearts of people. Things have reached a point where attempts are being made to bring vitally important installations to a halt, to stop the work of transport, to impose force against workers collectives, and to declare Yerevan a dead city. And a few days ago, large groups from the demonstrations taking place in Yerevan surrounded Zvartnots Airport, which comes under the jurisdiction of the country's ministries of civil aviation and defense. Regrettably, repeated attempts to convince the violators of order to cease their activities came to naught. I profoundly regret that some were hurt during this incident.

Come, let us be candid with each other: The incidents that are occurring here are assuming an entirely sharp and dangerous aspect; and at a time when we are seeking a way out of the situation that has been created, we see the emergence of people who are trying to inflame the situation, to incite strikes, and to violate public order. Come, comrades, let us put our heads together to see what is happening. Let us ask ourselves why all this is happening and whether it is not time to stop and put an end to the disorders. The question arises as to what the leaders of these disorders are guided by, what goals they pursue. Is such pressure, the attempts to impose one's own will on this multinational country, consonant with our principles of cohabitation? The people, the true patriots, reject these acts.

Recently, we saw the television appearance of Suren Petrosyan, famous worker and Hero of Socialist Labor, who cited instances of pressure being brought to bear on workers collectives, particularly at the Nayirit scientific production association where groups have appeared to demand an immediate end to work. Similar groups have appeared at other enterprises as well. Many people now wonder: Who are the strikes directed against? What do they contribute to the fatherland and to the people, who have now been in a state of extreme emotional tension for several months without a break? It is finally time to shake free from the waves of emotion, to judge and take account of today's realities. We also have no right to forget the fact that several hundred thousand of our compatriots live outside the republic. The events happening here, with us, are raising doubts among Soviet people and affect the good name of our people.

Such a situation, comrades, is inadmissible. Irresponsibility, red-hot emotions, illegal acts—you must agree—do not constitute the path to the settlement of the Nagorno-Karabkah problem. They are, as the recent incidents testify, pregnant with tragic consequences and inflict moral and political damage on the republic.

In this hour of trial, we appeal to the logic and wisdom of our people: We call for a demonstration of true civic spirit, patriotism, a high level of consciousness and common sense, and a profound understanding by each individual of his or her responsibility toward the fate of Armenia. Are we entitled, we must ask ourselves, to cast the slightest shadow on the good name that our people have earned themselves? Are we entitled, we must once

again ask ourselves, to deviate in the slightest bit from the road of perestroyka and social renewal onto which our republic is embarking with great difficulties and gigantic efforts?

Thus has the question arisen before us and we cannot speak of it loudly. We live in a socialist state whose citizens have not only extensive rights but also great duties before society and the people. It is possible, indeed, to understand the people who want a quick solution to existing complex problems—including the Nagorno-Karabakh problem. But is it not true that a solution to such problems can be found only through profound, serious-minded, and patient deliberation? And, as the recently concluded 19th party conference emphasized, every national problem requires a carefully considered and comprehensive approach—on the basis of a profound analysis and objective assessment of each concrete case.

It must be solved quietly, with great responsibility and within the framework of socialist democracy and legality, taking into account the revolutionary renewal processes in motion, and without harming the international solidarity of the Soviet people.

During the days of the conference, I had meetings with secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee, and with Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Both the situation in our republic and the problems connected with Nagorno-Karabakh were deliberated during these meetings. We laid out our positions on this problem. The basic theses of these positions are familiar to you from my statement at the conference. After the conference, on 4 July, I had a meeting with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. To be frank, I felt greatly embarrassed because on that very day a strike had been declared in a number of enterprises in the republic as a result of incitement by irresponsible people. During an all-embracing meeting, Comrade Gorbachev wanted to find out about the state of affairs in the republic, asking minutely detailed questions on the situation down here and on the state of the feelings of our working people. Expressing his confidence in the common sense of our people, he appealed to us to show civic maturity and restraint and to return to a normal life.

I felt during this meeting the extent of the warmth and good will on the part Mikhail Sergeyevich toward the Armenian people. Today, I want to tell you once again that the Nagorno-Karabakh problem is being comprehensively studied at the party's Central Committee and at the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. This extremely complex problem will soon be put under special scrutiny at a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Dear comrades, we have an accumulation of numerous problems. More than a few breakdowns have been discovered in all sorts of areas in the economic and social machinery. Come now, let us get going in a more enthusiastic and more determined manner to achieve their practical solution. It is necessary to take concrete measures to normalize the situation, particularly in those parts of the republic where tension has been created in interethnic relations. The republic's Ministry for Internal Affairs and Prosecutor's Office have been instructed to ensure the strictest maintenance of legality and public order. The case of poisoning of the workers of the Masis branch of the Garun production association is being investigated in the minutest detail.

All Soviet people are condemning the crime committed in Sumgait. Our republic has taken over 800 Armenian families under its wing. We are now taking every measure to create the necessary living and working conditions for them.

As you already know, the USSR Supreme Court has studied our proposal and decided to hand over the trial of the more serious crimes committed in Sumgait to the juridical organs of the RSFSR.

In appealing to you, dear comrades, in appealing to all our Communists, workers, women, and youth, I call on you to help to stabilize the situation in the republic, to return to your workplaces, not to allow breakdowns in work, not to give way to provocations, and to deal counterblows to those who play around with the lofty sentiments of the people and incite people to unwise and dangerous acts.

In the task of calming the situation and overcoming the oppressive frame of mind of the people, our intellectuals must also make their worthy contribution. At this responsible moment, they must rise to the loftiness of their calling and they must fulfill their obligation toward the people and toward the nation.

From the very 1st day of assuming the duties of the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party, I was firmly convinced that we will leave the critical situation behind; that we will do so thanks to the efforts to the whole population; thanks to its will, wisdom, and determination; thanks to its internationalist spirit; and thanks to its unwavering loyalty to our holy of holies, the unshakable friendship of the Great Russian people and the friendship of all the fraternal peoples of our country.

We are going through grave—very grave—times, comrades. We must do everything to normalize life, to bring our republic into the rhythm of the restructuring of the country so as to ensure the future development of Soviet Armenia in every way. That is what the vital interests of our people demand, and that is what our people's present and future need. These are the ideals for which Armenia's best sons, the generations that have built its new history, have struggled for. We have lived through enough drama; it is high time now that peace and tranquillity are restored under the roofs of the Armenian people.

Central Committee Conference

LD1207201788 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] A conference was held at the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee yesterday attended by the directors of production associations and industrial enterprises, the first secretaries of a number of gorkoms and raykoms, the secretaries of primary party organizations, and responsible workers of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

Questions of normalizing the work of industrial enterprises in the republic were discussed. Fadey Sarkisyan, chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers, read a report at the conference. It was noted that a tense situation had developed in the republic from 4 July. The collectives of many industrial enterprises, giving way to provocative calls, left their work. According to figures provided by the Central Statistical Committee of the Armenian Republic, millions of rubles' worth of industrial production was lost. The leaders of a number of enterprises and of party and social organizations proved unable to provide the collectives with the kind of leadership required in these grave days and failed to persuade the collectives that strikes are meaningless and harmful, gravely affecting on the republic's economy and moral climate. There have been (?many) instances of not reporting for work at the Armenian chemical machinery, Armenian electrical machinery, Luys, Transcaucasus cable, hydraulic (?press), and Almast production associations and the Dzerzhinskiy machine tool plant in Yerevan, the grinding machine tools plant in Leninakan, and elswhere.

Serious shortcomings have have been [word indistinct] in the work of the leaders of the party and soviet bodies and enterprises and associations in Yerevan, Leninakan, Kirovakan cities and in the Abovyan, Artashat, Kamo, Oktemperyan, Stepanavan, and other rayons.

At the same time many enterprises in the republic's cities and rayons did not yield to the inflammatory calls and worked without disrupting the normal rhythm and ensured the fulfillment of plan targets. Yesterday morning, over 90 percent of the workers and employees in the republic were at their posts and public transportation was operating normally. However, the speakers at the conference emphasized, it will be difficult to fill what has been left undone and to compensate for the (?harm) that has been done to the national economy not only of the republic but also to that of the whole country.

These days, the republic is receiving many letters and cables from all parts of the country, asking for contractual obligations to be fulfilled, for deliveries not to be defaulted, and not to cast other workers' collectives into grave difficulties.

The participants in the conference stressed that totally unjustified strikes incited by isolated unconscientious individuals push us backwards, inflict serious economic and moral damage to Armenia and its people, and toy with the authority of the republic.

Leaders of production associations and enterprises, and the secretaries of party organizations have an obligation to strengthen organizational and political work in workers' collectives. It is necessary to leave words alone and go to work. Gorkoms and raykoms must demand strict accounting of the leaders who do not take appropriate measures to normalize the situation and to establish an orderly state of affairs.

The conference severely criticized those party organizations and workers' collectives which collapse before provocateurs [hrahrich] and which do not hit back in an appropriate manner. It is necessary to decisively stop the illicit activities of individual persons and groups which inflame passions and emotions, intending to halt the normal operation of work collectives. At this time, [word indistinct] and true patriotism is expressed in concrete acts, in a profound knowledge of one's obligation to the people.

Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, spoke at the conference. (Rakov) and Gerasimenko, responsible workers of the CPSU Central Committee, also participated in the work of the conference.

Further on Strikes, Demonstrations in Yerevan

Youth Paper Surveys Situation

PM1207132588 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 Jul 88 p 4

[Special correspondents S. Kozyrev and A. Sarkisyan report: "Yerevan: Events and People"]

[Text] There have been no days off in Yerevan, because there have been no working days. Ordinary working days. A few details distinguish Yerevan's streets from the ordinary rhythms of any capital. There are military guards in flak jackets at the entrance to the airport. Theater Square is cordoned off. Voluntary militia accompany the drivers of buses and trolleybuses in the event of possible "arguments" with members of the so-called strike committee. And there was also the rally attended by many thousands of people on Sunday evening near the Matenadaran Ancient Manuscript Institute. The rally participants rejected the venue allotted them by the city authorities at the "Razdan" Stadium because it is too far from the city center.

But although the rally participants chanted slogans about a strike, on Monday morning it could be said that it was mainly business as usual for working Yerevan at the start of the new week.

Most people went to work in Yerevan's three main industrial rayons. Of the city's 231 enterprises, 36 were not working or were short-staffed. The overwhelming majority of buses, trolleybuses, and streetcars were running.

At midday we visited the Masis firm. Last week this enterprise was hit by a strike.

"But placating people does not mean the problem as a whole has been solved," Ruzanna Minasyan, deputy secretary of the association's Komsomol committee, said. "People are asking for explanations of the issues which have been worrying them for 5 months now. There is a current opinion that it will only be possible to achieve results by striking—an extreme form of protest."

As we were filing this report people were coming home from work. The situation in the city was returning to normal. Zvartnots Airport is back on its usual work schedule.

Militia Intervenes

PM1207190988 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 13 Jul 88 p 4

[Special correspondents Yu. Belanov and N. Ordinyan dispatch: "Yerevan, 12 July"]

[Text] Yerevan—Unfortunately, the industrial heart of Armenia's capital is beating irregularly. The number of industrial enterprise workers who reported for work today was only one-half of yesterday's. There are 125 enterprises which are fully operational, with 91 operating only partially and 18 standing idle.

The city's party and economic leaders failed to persuade the "Armkhimmash" collective to return to work. Other major enterprises are also at a standstill.

The situation is unstable also at industrial enterprises in Leninakan, Kirovakan, and Abovyan. According to Armenian SSR State Committee for Statistics data, the total loss in 5 days amounted to over 500,000 man-days and the country has been deprived of output worth R38.2 million. In the country's unified complex, this means that hundreds of contractual commitments have been thwarted and that economic ties which have developed over the years have been wrecked.

Meanwhile, rallies attended by large crowds are held twice daily near Matenadaran, the ancient manuscripts archive, at which members of the so-called "action committee" persistently call on people to continue the senseless strike.

But matters are progressing beyond appeals. A crowd of thousands of demonstrators made its way yesterday to working enterprises in Yerevan's Leninskiy Rayon. Only the militia's intervention prevented them from halting operations at several more plants.

It is particularly alarming that the party committees are not in control of the situation. They are unable to rally the collectives and rebuff the strike organizers.

Tension Continues

NC1307071388 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian 0530 GMT 12 Jul 88

[From the review of KOMMUNIST]

[Text] The ARMENPRES correspondent writes that one can still feel tension in Yerevan. At a meeting held in Matendaran there were again calls for strikes and demands for the settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh question. Local radio and television have several times carried the speech by Arutyunyan, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party. He called for the stabilization of the situation in the republic and for people to return to their places of work and not to succumb to provocations. Frankly, soberly, and in a straightforward manner the speech dealt with the issues that disturb everyone today, honestly noted the difficulties that are hampering the solution of the accumulated problems, and outlined cearly the paths that should be followed for the quickest return to normal life and work. This is how many with whom the ARMENPRES correspondent met and talked feel. [Words indistinct] and alarm were voiced to him by Yenitsyan, a kolkhoz machine operator and Hero of Socialist Labor; Vosakanyan, a sewing brigade leader; Garichanyan, a candidate of philosophical sciences; student Sakaryan; engineer Khachaturyan; and (Oganyan), the director of the Cardiology Institute.

Press Cites Reaction

LD1307095488 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0845 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, 13 July (TASS)—The pace of work is again being disrupted in Yerevan, the capital of Soviet Armenia, PRAVDA reports today. Collectives at a number of enterprises are not working or are not working in full complement, and transport is operating partially.

A. Nikolayev, senior assistant of the USSR procurator general, spoke on television yesterday. An investigation is in progress into the circumstances connected with the work stoppage at Zvartnots Airport. A. Nikolayev called for calm and reason, for sensible actions, and for assistance in ascertaining the truth.

Party and local soviet organizations are making efforts to normalize the situation in the republic. The Communist Party of Armenia Central Committee held a conference. It asked leaders of all levels to take urgent measures to get the labor collectives back to work, to make up for the lost time, and to ensure fulfillment of plan targets and contractual deliveries. Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Communist Party of Armenia Central Committee, spoke at the conference.

KOMMUNIST newspaper prints reaction to Suren Arutyunyan's Saturday speech on Armenian Television. A. Minasyan, a machine operator at Kirov Kolkhoz in Akhuryanskiy Rayon, writes, "The time has come to sober up. We all need to think seriously about the events of the past few days. Who has the right to cast a shadow over our people's irreproachable reputation, built up over centuries?"

And this is the opinion of B. Garibdzhanyan, candidate of philosophical sciences: "When passions were heated to the limit, for some reason there were no honest, bold people, capable of restraining youth from ill-thought out actions leading to sad consequences. But where were they, those people who until recently were presenting and receiving challenging red banners and were uttering loud speeches to sleeping audiences? Was it not they who created the appearance that a healthy moral and political atmosphere reigned in the republic, closing their eyes to such monstrous phenomena as bribery and protectionism?"

In the same paper, R. Mkhitaryan, chairman of the Artashatskiy Rayispolkom, notes: "Restructuring has overt and covert opponents. To prolong their lives, to draw a veil over such phenomena as bureaucratism, protectionism, bribery, and corruption, the antirestructuring forces are prepared for any provocation. Only endurance, common sense, and patience must determine our life today, as we all await a solution on the basis of the principles of Lenin's nationalities policy."

Emotions Fired by Speech

PM1307111488 Moscow TRUD in Russian 13 Jul 88 p 2

["Own information" TASS report: "Yerevan, 12 July"]

[Text] The situation in the city remains tense. Even though the majority of enterprises in the city are working, city transport ceased operations in the center of Yerevan in the afternoon. Emotions were heightened in particular by the television speech by A.Kh. Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, which is being interpreted in various ways here....

The local press, radio, and television carry appeals by cultural figures and scientists, a group of USSR Supreme Soviet deputies, and participants in the 19th party conference calling on their compatriots to observe law and order. Extensive material has been published on the inspection carried out by a special commission, comprising experts from Yerevan and Moscow, into the poisoning of a group of workers from the Masis factory of the Garun sewn goods association. We were told at the Armenian SSR Prosecutor's Office that criminal proceedings have been instituted in connection with the poisoning in Masis. So far there has been no success in determining what actually caused the poisoning, but one thing is clear: It was a toxic chemical substance. A forensic medical analysis and a forensic chemical analysis have been ordered to clarify matters. The latter has been assigned to the USSR Ministry of Justice All-Union Forensic Science Research Institute.

Theater Square, where rallies are normally held, has been closed off by personnel for the maintenance of public order. Demonstrators are not using the space next to the republic stadium which the city Soviet has specially allocated for rallies. Spontaneous gatherings occur here and there.

Party and soviet organizations are making efforts to normalize the situation in the republic. A conference held in the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee demanded of leaders at all levels that immediate measures be taken to organize the work of labor collectives, make up for lost time, and ensure the fulfillment of plan targets and contract deliveries.

The conference was addressed by S.G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

Plans To Extend Strike Reported

NC1307113688 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] As for the state of affairs on 12 July, the situation in Yerevan remained tense. A meeting attended by thousands was again held in the morning near Matenadaran. It adopted a decision to prolong the strikes until 18 July. Public transport was working with interruptions. Out of 231 industrial enterprises, 91 were partially operational, 18 were on strike, while the rest were working normally. Out of 127,000 production personnel on the first shift, 46,600 did not work. Partial major repairs were being conducted according to schedule at the [name indistinct] scientific-production association. In [Name indistinct] Rayon, 34 out of 46 industrial enterprises, mostly those producing foodstuffs and with (?conveyor belt) technological equipment, were operating normally.

Official Regrets Airport Death

PM1207152388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Special correspondents S. Bablumyan and P. Gutiontov report: "Yerevan, 12 July"]

[Text] A. Nikolayev, senior assistant to the USSR prosecutor general, who is heading the group which has been investigating the drama at "Zvartnots" airport for several days now, has made a statement on the republic television channel. He emphasized that the steps taken by the military were necessitated by the illegal action of a group of irresponsible people, and he expressed regret in connection with the death of one young citizen of Yerevan.

At the rallies there is again talk about continuing the strike. Unfortunately, the voice of party and soviet officials, the arguments to counter the arguments of the "Karabakh" Committee activists, cannot be heard at all at these mass gatherings.

A conference was held at the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee to discuss questions pertaining to the normalization of the situation in the republic. Specifically, there was sharp criticism at the conference of the fact that in the present highly complex situation many party, soviet, and economic leaders at republic, city, and rayon level continue to drag their feet and display complacency and irresponsibility in implementing practical measures aimed at improving the situation. The conference was addressed by S. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

The information coming in from enterprises remains contradictory, but it would be premature to say that the city is regaining its normal labor rhythm. Here is a figure supplied by the Armenian State Committee for Statistics: The loss incurred yesterday by the republic industry as a result of people's failure to turn up for work totaled R3.7 million.

Komsomol Members Turn In Cards

PM1307110388 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 13 Jul 88 p 4

[Report by special correspondents S. Kozyrev and A. Sarkisyan: "Objectivity Required"]

[Text] Yerevan, 12 Jul—It is hot in Yerevan.... It is not just the weather. There was another big rally yesterday evening at the Institute of Ancient Manuscripts—Matenadaran. Although, if one is talking about the content of the speeches, nothing fundamentally new was said.

What is the situation in the city? On Tuesday it changed—half of the city's enterprises (fewer than yesterday) were fully operational, the rest partially. The public transport situation is the same. A shortage of buses, trolleybuses, and streetcars again. Does this information give an idea of life in the city? We tried to amplify it by contacting the Yerevan Internal Affairs Administration. Administration chief K. Kazaryan reported that one automobile theft had been recorded on 10 July. There were three offenses on 11 July. Two vehicle thefts and one case of bodily harm. Is this a lot or a little? It is normal.

In the afternoon we went to find out what efforts Komsomol workers have been making lately. Granush Akopyan, first secretary of the Armenian Komsomol Central Committee, greeted us on the stairs. She had just gotten back from an enterprise.... Komsomol workers spend no more than an hour in the office these days. Members of operational detachments are escorting public transport drivers. They are ensuring that people get to work. G. Akopyan told us that two student detachments from Armenia are working normally in Nagorno-Karabakh.

A few days ago a proposal was made at a rally: Surrender Komsomol cards as a protest against law-enforcement personnel who, in the view of the rally participants, exceeded their authority at Zvartnots Airport. We have figures which show that this action has been backed so far by around two dozen young people. They will consider themselves no longer members of the Komsomol unless Komsomol bodies evaluate the actions of the Komsomol members among the public order protection personnel.

We also met today with A.I. Nikolayev, senir assistant to the USSR general prosecutor, who is head of a group of investigators who have come to Yerevan to investigate all the events that occurred at and around Zvartnots Airport:

"An investigation is currently being conducted by the USSR Prosecutor's Office. The investigation team comprises skilled investigators from the prosecutor's office and internal affairs organs of the USSR, Armenian SSR, and other regions, and from the Military Prosecutor's Office. The aim is to carry out a thorough, objective, and comprehensive investigation of all the circumstances of the events of 4-5 July."

Intellectuals Urge End to Strike

PM1207135988 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 9 Jul 88 p 1

[Letter from E. Dzhrbashyan, academician of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences and delegate to the 19th all-union party conference; Republic People's Artist S. Israelyan, chairman of the Armenian Union of Cinematographers Board; USSR People's Artist R. Kaplanyan, chairman of the Armenian Union of Theater Workers Board; USSR People's Artist E. Mirzoyan, chairman of the Armenian Union of Composers Board; R. Ovanesyan, chairman of the Armenian Union of Writers Board and honored cultural figure of the republic; and A. Shiraz, chairman of the Armenian Union of Artists Board and honored artist of the republic: "Harmony of Hearts and Minds"]

[Text] This is the 5th month that the people of Yerevan have been gathering virtually every evening in Theater Square to discuss the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh publicly and with the entire world. The wise, considered words of people who are respected by the people have often been heard at these mass gatherings. Their calls for calm and prudence found a most lively response and understanding among the working people. Nor is this accidental, for the Armenian people endured the frost and cold of thousands of years because they honored wisdom, balanced reason, and emotions, and were able to combine spiritual greatness with national restraint.

There is no doubt that the meetings and demonstrations became possible precisely because of restructuring and the establishment of glasnost and the democratization in our society. And there is nothing reprehensible in these meetings and demonstrations, for the people possess, have gained, a constitutional right to the free and public expression of their will, a right which, of course, should be cherished, looked after, and not allowed to drown and melt away in passionate outbursts. Reason must live in harmony with fervent hearts—this is our profound conviction.

It is bitter to realize that many enterprises in Yerevan and other regions of the republic have now suspended operations. This in no way becomes an ancient people who have endured the difficult test of centuries thanks to their sustained and creative labor. Can calloused hands, accustomed to squeezing blood from a stone, live without work? Let us not forget—the republic's contribution to the country's economy is weighty, and each day of the stoppage impacts painfully on the all-union national economic organism.

For a long time the mass media held back from explaining the painful problem of Nagorno-Karabakh. They saw, but they took no notice. Were they confused? Did the mechanism that brakes glasnost work through inertia? Or perhaps they did not want to harshly but correctly reflect events? It is a pity, a great pity.

Silence in the era of glasnost is by no means a precious metal; it is devalued gold from times of the personality cult and stagnation. It has truly been said: The greater the truth, the greater the trust. Truth does not destroy, truth heals, and its creative significance has been demonstrated at the time of revolutionary transformations in society.

We appeal to our brothers and sisters in the Ararat Valley and Shirak, the Yerevan workers of beautiful Lori and proud Zangezur: Let us create and build! Let us be patient, wise, and restrained! And hope and believe that a just solution will be found to the Nagorno-Karabakh problem in line with the Leninist nationalities policy and the democratic restructuring processes. And for this reason we shall say, and repeat again and again—to work, dear fellow countrymen! It is through labor that we will ensure and accelerate restructuring and bring closer the hour when socialist democracy will be completely victorious and thus the hour when people's aspirations and hopes will be fulfilled.

Moved by a feeling of friendship of the peoples and Soviet patriotism, we also propose that a document be adopted at the planned CPSU Central Committee Plenum reflecting a specific package of measures directed at further developing and strengthening the Soviet federation on the basis of democratic principles, and consequently, on fuller consideration of the will of nations and nationalities.

E. Dzhrbashyan, academician of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences and delegate to the 19th all-union party conference; Republic People's Artist S. Israelyan, chairman of the Union of Cinematographers Board; USSR People's Artist R. Kaplanyan, chairman of the Union of Theater Workers Board; USSR People's Artist E. Mirzoyan, chairman of the Union of Composers Board; R. Ovanesyan, chairman of the Union of Writers Board and honored cultural figure of the republic; A. Shiraz, chairman of the Union of Artists Board and honored artist of the republic.

Vezirov: Azerbaijan Writers Must Ease Tension

NC1307085688 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 9 Jul 88

[Text] The secretaries of the Azerbaijan SSR Union of Writers have held a meeting at the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee on the tasks of creative intellectuals, as laid down by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. Abdulrakhman Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, said:

The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference has assigned very important tasks to the party and the Soviet people. The duty of the (?writers) is to carry them out. The writers must actively take part in the effort to explain the party decisions in depth. They must contribute with their own words toward the effort to broaden the democratization process, explain the ways of benefiting from the openness policy, and spread the concept of mutual friendship and good relations between nationalities among the masses. The writers cannot exclude themselves from the struggle that is waged against flattery, deceit, [words indistinct].

The first secretary of the union pointed out positive changes in the union, but said that cases of apathy in many of the domains in which the union is active have not yet been removed.

The participants in the meeting noted that nothing is restricted for the press in the country any more. In view of this, there is need for moderation. Material that is published should be carefully and seriously prepared in accordance with the demands. (?Untouchable) incidents, including the tragic events that occurred in the 1930's, should be brought to light in accordance with their historical [word indistinct].

Regarding the incidents in and around the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, the speakers who addressed the meeting said that the influence, capability, and effective views of the writers must be used in normalizing the situation. Meanwhile, the contribution of writers to the international training that is given to the workers must be strengthened.

The participants noted in this connection that personal relations between writers in Azerbaijan SSR and their colleagues in the other fraternal republics must be strengthened and that achievements in literature must be broadly publicized in the country.

A number of other problems in the literary life of the republic were also discussed. Ratib Zeynalov, secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee; Fuad Musayev, first secretary of the Baku City Party Committee; and Azer Mustafa-Zade, chief of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Culture Department participated in the meeting.

IZVESTIYA Editorial Examines Interethnic Ties

PM1307092388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Editorial: "The 19th Party Conference on Interethnic Relations"]

[Text] One of the most impressive and incontestable gains of socialism is its ability to resolve fairly the problems of interethnic relations. The unique alliance between peoples united by their great goal is a matter of pride for Soviet people. This alliance became possible owing to Lenin's policy and Lenin's principles, which are consistently embodied by the Soviet people and the Communist Party.

The 19th party conference resolution pointed out that this alliance stands for the international unity of working people of all nations and nationalities within the USSR, the right of nations to self-determination, the revival and development of their national cultures, the acceleration of the progress of previously backward national regions, and the elimination of interethnic dissension. An integral economic complex—the material foundation for the unity of the USSR's peoples—has taken shape. The economic, cultural, and cadre potential of all republics and autonomous areas has increased immeasurably. A new historic community—the Soviet people—has become a reality. National consciousness is naturally increasing.

But there is also another element: The dynamism inherent in the initial phase of the formation of the interethnic Land of the Soviets was effectively lost and undermined by deviation from Leninist principles with regard to nationalities policy, by infringements of the law during the period of the personality cult, and by the ideology and psychology of stagnation. Contradictions which arose in this sphere were either "tactically" hushed up or were muffled amid solemn speeches and scientific works which were more reminiscent of dinner toasts to friendship.

Three years—just 3—of broadening democracy and glasnost have opened practically everyone's eyes to the achievements and omissions of the past years and it has become clear that the most complex sphere of interethnic relations needs, perhaps, more persistent restructuring than all the other spheres. For all problems—economic, social, and spiritual—are exacerbated and become much more sensitive when transferred to the plane of national grievances and aspirations. Socialism has every opportunity to prevent such an exacerbation and to resolve it in the interests of all the peoples if conflict does nonetheless materialize. But apparently we all came to believe in the automatism and universality of the resources and methods in our arsenal. That was why the nationalities question in our country was deemed resolved once and for all.

Recent events, events around Karabakh, which have troubled and alarmed many people, prompted other thoughts. These questions have been engendered not by restructuring, as some people think, but have been revealed by it and placed on the agenda. Thus, we must seek ways of resolving them. All this illustrates the complexity of the situation. Complexity which has not been hidden this time from the party and the people but put forward in the CPSU Central Committee Theses published on the eve of the conference for universal consultation and analysis.

Delegates' speeches at the conference, their depth, and their very tone, which was conducive to debate and reflection, were an extension of this sober and principled process of analysis. For instance, people said from the rostrum at the party forum that it is very important in the course of restructuring to shape new incentives and aims to rally the Soviet peoples politically. The creation of a multinational legal state must start with true equality for nations enshrined in the USSR Constitution. It is important for this right to have priority. But there is an even more urgent need for a mechanism to guarantee the steadfast implementation of the Constitution's provisions.

Thoughts consonant with speeches made from the conference rostrum have recently been expressed in readers' letters to the IZVESTIYA editorial office. A. Bakhshiyev, a teacher of political economy and veteran of the Great Patriotic War from Baku, writes: "Many universally esteemed writers and academics are arguing heatedly and uncompromisingly over what such and such a village was called previously because its name is now different, and so on.

"These are also necessary matters. But the main thing now is to combat the three enemies known as bribery, bureaucratism, and lack of culture—our common enemies." True! But alongside such sober voices both in life and in the mailbag there is unfortunately, at present, an abundance of quick-tempered words that smack of ultimatums such as "forbid," "unmask," and "don't allow." That is, voices of yesteryear when commands and menacing growls would often prevail over the desire to understand one's opponent, be it a person of a different nationality or even a whole people, or would prevail over the endeavor to jointly seek ways of reaching a compromise.

In the course of restructuring, B. Pugo, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, rightly pointed out that not only individuals but also whole nations have begun to display greater social and political activeness and a healthy dissatisfaction with what has been achieved. This is a normal phenomenon.

But at the same time it has come to light that some people who have incorrectly understood the principles of social justice are trying to demand a larger slice of the social pie for themselves, although it would be far more correct for everyone to put in more work and make this pie a little larger.

Today it is clear that the peoples of our multinational country have not only a common historical destiny and common aims but also a common material base created by joint labor and a unified economic complex, all of whose components, including Yakut diamonds, Ukrainian grain, Sverdlovsk excavators, and Uzbek cotton, are interdependent. Everything is interdependent just as in a single mighty organism. But the departmental approach and diktat by a number of ministries has also managed to violate the proportions here and has transformed Uzbekistan into an all but single-crop republic and Komi into a great "reformatory." Can the harmonious development of all be conditional upon such one-sided development by any one of the members of the alliance? Clearly this is intolerable today.

Some prospects for new fairer relations between the regions and the center and also between republics are envisaged in the conference resolution, which says, in particular: "Radical economic reform and the process of democratization provide broad scope to combine in the optimum fashion the interests of both national-state formations and also the country as a whole. The matter must be formulated in such a way as to ensure that working people are well aware of how much the republic or oblast produces, what it contributes to the country's economy, and how much it receives."

It is quite understandable that such economic accountability [khozraschet] must not only make each region richer but also reinforce the country's historically established unified national economic complex since each republic's economy depends on the state of this complex. There must be absolutely no place in this concept for regional egoism.

It is also clear that restructuring in the sphere of national relations will proceed simultaneously with the reform of the political structure. First of all, the institutions in the political system which will help to uncover and coordinate national interests must be mobilized. The role of the soviets, above all the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, its permanent commissions, and the USSR Government will be substantially increased here.

The conference also recommended the creation of permanent commissions on questions of interethnic relations in the USSR Supreme Soviet, in union and autonomous republic supreme soviets, and, where necessary, in local soviets.

The new state which must be imparted to interethnic relations requires—and the resolution also mentioned this—profound legal study and new standards in developing a multinational socialist culture, which is called upon to be a powerful factor for the ideological and moral consolidation of society and for fostering—along with a sense of pride for one's people and for one's "local" homeland—a great sense of the fraternity of all the peoples and a sense of Soviet patriotism.

The unique multinational nature of our country should not alienate people of different nationalities but, on the contrary, serve to mutually enrich them and augment the forces of restructuring.

The conference expressed confidence that our common present and future lies in consolidating and uniting all Soviet peoples. Let everyone who values the fate of the country take to heart and bear in mind the good sense of the decision adopted by the party forum: "It is the patriotic and international duty of every citizen and every Communist to protect and multiply everything that serves to rally Soviet society as the basis for the free development and prosperity of all the peoples of the USSR and everything that serves to strengthen the might of our common fatherland."

These general guidelines and principles laid down by the conference are not the end but the start of the great, difficult, but noble work of setting our house to rights, work which must be developed and enriched with the labor of our hearts and minds and all the best of our common experience.

Vilnius Radio Reports Rally for Restructuring
LD1307093988 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Report by correspondents Vladas Dobilas and Izolda Malyte; Lithuanian officials speak in vernacular with superimposed English translation—recorded]

[Excerpts] Today we are going to speak about a chain of events that occurred in Vilnius last week and which I believe will stay long in the memory of the Lithuanian people.

The final and the crowning event in the chain was a mighty mass rally in the largest and the most beautiful park of Vilnius, Vingis park. [passage omitted] Now all the quarters here and the field in front of it are literally packed with people, an estimate of 100,000. What you hear now is that huge crowd chanting the word "Lietuva," that is, "Lithuania." I think it is about time we let our listeners to know what that is about.

The fact is that a new public organization emerged in Lithuania just a little more than a month ago—that is, the Lithuanian Movement for Perestroyka, Lietuvos Persitvarkymo Sajudis. The word "Sajudis" is now on the lips of all Lithuanians. Some pronounce it with love, others with a wry smile, still others through clenched teeth, depending on their attitude to the movement. [passage omitted]

Before this meeting there were other meetings arranged by the authorities; one of these was held in the opera house and another was organized by TV, a live phone-in that lasted nearly 2 hours. Already there the first notes rang suggesting that the movement was not to the liking of all, that some authorities found it a sore in their side. Here is what chairman of the Presidium of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, Vytautas Astrauskas, said at the TV forum:

[Astrauskas] However, I would like to mention here a different issue. Tasks and the whole affair are very serious. There is a need for some great work, argumented proposals. Sometimes it is disturbing that, on behalf of the movement, political discussions and various meetings are held in the streets, that ungrounded demands are raised there. Such an incitement of morbid emotions among the public does not speed up the perestroyka.

Speaking at the opera house meeting on Friday, First Secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Ringaudas Songayla said that the party conference considered the activity of informal movements a positive phenomenon only if they genuinely sought to help the renewal and strengthening of socialism. Then he noted that certain statements and publications in the press were groundless and of doubtful ideological trends. [passage omitted]

[Writer Vytautak Petkevicius] While analyzing the materials of the 19th party conference we must admit that not everything there had been developing in the direction desirable to us and that our delegates there made much effort so that Lithuania would become economically sovereign. On analyzing the materials of 19th party conference we must admit that not everything took the course which we would have liked and that our delegates did a lot so that Lithuania might become an economically sovereign republic, that the Lithuanian language would be declared the state language within the republic, and that our people might use and spare their natural recourses at their own discretion in order to make Lithuania a green and ecologically clean country again. We have gathered here to express our determination that we will not move a single step back from these major points indispensible for a normal existence of our nation.

Vytautas Petkevicius went on to say that the Lithuanian people supported Mikhail Gorbachev's policy that he had given the third and the last chance for the revival of the Lithuanian nation, the first two arising with Lenin and Khrushchev had been later crushed by Stalinist personality cult and Brezhnevist period of stagnation. Pointing out that any delay of perestroyka might lead the country into economic, political, and moral deadlock, he appealed to the people to act in calm seriousness, to seek harmony, and to avoid any provocations or brash actions.

He concluded his speech with the following words:

[Petkevicius] Once again let's act in seriousness and harmony, let the enemies of restructuring see that we are a real force and we, who represent the opinion of the people must be reckoned with. Such is the demand of the present revolutionary situation when bureaucracy no longer manages to rule us as it did before and while we cannot and do not wish to live according to the authoritarian principles of violence, falsehood, and fear.

Secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Algirdas Brazauskas—incidentally, the only top-ranking official present at the rally—spoke about the work of the Lithuanian delegation in Moscow and informed the audience that all the suggestions and demands of the Lithuanian people had in one way or another been delivered to the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party. He said he supported the demand of the movement to give priority to such branches of economy which would primarily satisfy the needs of Lithuania.

To a storm of applause Algirdas Brazauskas declared that the Lithuanian Government has decided to discontinue the financing of the construction of the Ignalina atomic power station. [passage omitted]

This sudden decision of the government seems to be the proof of the growing prestige of the Movement for Perestroyka, as only a short time ago the official attitude had been quite different.

Another surprise move concerned the national Lithuanian colors—yellow, green, and red; the former flag referred to up to now as bourgeois and thus undesirable:

[Brazauskas] And I would like to declare that we have discussed this issue at the administration of the republic and entrusted the Presidium of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet with the task to adopt a positive decision concerning the abovementioned flag in the nearest future [shouts of joy] and legalize the three national colors.

Legalize or not legalize, the government was opposed with a fait accompli; all the same Vingis Park was just a sea of fluttering yellow, green, and red flags.

Although the old Lithuanian national flag has been rehabilitated, the very Movement for Perestroyka still has to be recognized officially and given a legal status. [passage omitted] The perestroyka movement in some parts of Lithuania is still getting opposition on the part of

certain bigger or smaller bosses. Several names were given, and the audience expressed their indignation at them by whistling and shouting "Geda," meaning "shameful."

I am sorry to say that the Lithuanian radio and TV were also criticized, and one of the speakers moved that the daily TIESA, meaning "Truth," should be boycotted until it starts publishing material in a true spirit of perestroyka.

Besides, open or clandestine attacks on the Movement of Perestroyka launched by bureaucrats, there seems to be another danger. Certain extremist and chauvinistic groupings seek to hang onto the movement. [passage omitted]

Present at the rally and making speeches or sending written congratulations to the Lithuanian people were guests from other Soviet republics as well as Lithuanians from Canada and the United States. [passage omitted]

Lithuanian Welcomes Eased Travel Restrictions
LD1007100188 Moscow TASS in English 0612 GMT 10 Jul 88

[From the "News From Soviet Baltic Republics" feature]

[Text] Vilnius July 10—By ELTA correspondent Rolandas Baribas:

Ted Turner's gesture has been called "an echo of the Good Will Games in Moscow in 1986" when the TBS television owner who had been the American sponsor of the sports festival, invited Soviet basketball star Arvidas Sabonis to recuperate in the United States after surgery.

Sabonis, one of the world's best amateur basketballers who is a pivot playing for both the Lithuanian club Zalgiris Kaunas and the Soviet national side, was operated on following an injury.

Just several years ago such an arrangement as achieved by Turner could have taken months to hammer out.

Today, however, the new style of political thinking and the changed international climate, especially after successful Soviet-American summits, has made for expanded dialogue not only at state-to-state level but also along people-to-people lines.

The 19th conference of the Soviet Communist Party, which ended earlier this month, noted in its decisions that glasnost, used as a means of realizing the principles of an open foreign policy, helps draw social organizations, worker collectives, cultural personalities and popular masses into international contacts.

"Since January 1, 1987, when the Soviet Union changed its rules on entry in and exit from the country, a number of restrictions earlier existing in the field have been lifted," this correspondent was told by Vaclovas Zemgulis, a deputy interior minister of Lithuania.

"There is no limit not, for example, on the number of trips made over a fixed time and multiple entry and exit visas have begun to be issued on a wider scale.

"Practically all requests for visas to go abroad today are met," Zemgulis said.

"The number of Lithuania's inhabitants visiting the United States, Canada, West Germany and Australia this year has nearly tripled and the number of those going to socialist nations has grown fivefold.

"All in all, some 100,000 people in Lithuania, whose population totals 3.6 million, have been abroad since January and the figure is expected to reach 300,000 by year's end," the deputy interior minister continued.

To keep up with demand for trips abroad, an extra daily train from Vilnius to Berlin via Warsaw has been added to the railway schedule, he said.

A new check point, Lazdiaj-Ogrudniki, was opened on the Soviet-Polish border in late June, cutting the motor route from Lithuania into Poland by 300 kilometers, Zemgulis added.

After essential facilities are completed on the Soviet side of the border at the new check point, it will be used also by tourists from Scandanavian countries eager to get to Western Europe by the shortest route.

Swedish Paper's View of Estonian Movement Hit
LD1207165888 Moscow International Service in Swedish 1800 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Commentary by "our commentator" Oleg Okulovskiy—read by unidentified announcer]

[Text] Recently I was in Soviet Estonia where I was very interested to learn about a new phenomenon in the Soviet Union. It is a civic movement which unites all the republic's inhabitants who want to actively work for restructuring. According to information from the movement's founders, the mass movement now has more than (?40,000) members and it unites about 800 so-called support groups for restructuring in the republic. To be honest, I was also quite interested in what the Swedish papers would be writing about this movement, continues Oleg Okulovskiy. After returning to Moscow, I read an article about this in the Stockholm paper SVENSKA DAGBLADET. I quote from the article's introduction:

It is an old truth that if they cannot conquer their most severe critics, wielders of power—of various persuasions—do best by making common cause with them by

absorbing them, so as to get them to work within the established system. It is against this background that we should see the popular front that has been formed in Tallinn with the blessing of the Estonian Communist Party and the silent acceptance of Moscow. That is what SVENSKA DAGBLADET says about the popular front in Soviet Estonia. If you believe what is written in the paper, the popular front has been formed as a sort of union of the most bitter critics opposed to Soviet power. Soviet power, which could not [word indistinct] these critics, decided to pretend they were friends. That is the SVENSKA DAGBLADET theory. But we can take a look at the information sheet recently issued in Tallinn's THE POPULAR FRONT BULLETIN and then a lot will probably fall into place. This is another quote, this time from an article written by one of the leaders of the popular front, (?Edgar Savisaar):

(?Now) it is especially important to restore people's belief in the existence of people's power, not to make mistakes in directing democratic processes, to openly and in everything support the Soviet Communist Party's course for reforming our society. We see it as our task to promote the irreversibility of restructuring and transform Estonia into one of its [word indistinct] in the Soviet Union. That is how the popular front describes itself.

(?Now back again) to the [word indistinct] in SVENSKA DAGBLADET. Where is (?the newspaper's) difference of opinion between the Soviet Communist Party and the popular front? What has the so-called old truth about how to combat critics of the regime to do with this, writes Oleg Okulovskiy in conclusion.

Two 'Prominent Prisoners' Get Early Release

LD1207104588 Hamburg DPA in German 0937 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Frankfurt (DPA)—In a surprise move two prominent prisoners have been released from prison in the Soviet Union, the International Society for Human Rights [ISHR] announced in Frankfurt on Tuesday, citing civil rights campaigners in the USSR. Estonian civil rights campaigner Mart-Olav Niklus (53) arrived home on Monday after having served part of his sentence. He was sentenced in January 1981 for anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda to 10 years hard labor and subsequent 5 years' exile.

Viktor Walter [name as received] (38), head of the German evangelical Pentecost community of Chuguyevka (far-eastern Siberia), who was arrested in December 1984 and sentenced to 5 years in a labor camp, has been released 17 months ahead of the expiry of his prison term. The ISHR said that Walter would try to get an exit visa for the Federal Republic. His wife and seven children arrived in the Federal Republic in May 1988.

Economic

USSR's Economic Ranking in World Assessed

PM1107140388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Interview with Doctor of Economic Sciences R.R. Simonyan, department chief at the USSR Academy of Sciences World Economics and International Relations Institute, by M. Berger: "Where We Are. USSR in the World System of Economic Rankings"—date, place not given; first three paragraphs are editorial introduction, passage in boldface as published]

[Text] The 19th party conference, which discussed fundamental questions of our society's life, included an intense debate on the problems of economic development. The report noted that we have underestimated the depth and severity of the deformations and stagnation of past years. We simply did not know a great deal, and only now can we see that the neglect of affairs in different spheres of the economy was more serious than it initially appeared.

Moving along the path of renewal, it is necessary to clearly realize what point in the "world economic rankings" we have reached, how our national economy appears in comparison with other developed countries, what we have achieved, and what we still have to achieve. Without clear answers to these questions it is hard to define the direction or speed of our progress, or our short- and longer-term goals.

This was the subject of a conversation with Doctor of Economic Sciences R.R. Simonyan, department chief at the USSR Academy of Sciences World Economics and International Relations Institute.

[Berger] Rayr Rayrovich, an event has taken place in our statistical report which may be considered important. Issue 21 of ARGUMENTY I FAKTY published comparative data on per capita national income in the USSR, individual countries, and groups of countries. They were prepared on the basis of figures from the USSR State Committee for Statistics and the statistical organs of the United Nations and individual countries. It turns out that, although our indicator has more than trebled in comparison with 1950, we lag behind the United States by a factor of 1.7.

[Simonyan] Let me start by saying that the indicator of per capita national income expressed in dollars and compared with other countries is not one of the most commonly used indicators in our country—unlike, for instance, gross figures for cement, steel, and mineral fertilizer production and a number of other indicators, where we firmly retain our leading positions. So the aforementioned item is clear evidence of the expansion of glasnost.

As for the specific figures cited in ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, they were too high, in my view. According to calculations done in our institute, national income in the USSR is approximately 55 percent of the U.S. level. But if we relate national income to the number of people employed in the national economy, it turns out that our social labor productivity amounts to approximately one-third of the U.S. level. That is the reality.

[Berger] Can these indicators serve as a starting point?

[Simonyan] Only as a general approximation. It is very hard to take account of the different quality of production in different countries. Moreover, national income—particularly in the form in which we measure it—is, to a certain extent, an expenditure indicator reflecting what the country produces. It is difficult to judge levels of demand from it. After all, a wagonload of road chippings or a forging press could also be considered the end result of economic activity, but it would be more correct to consider for this purpose the amount of milk, meat, shoes, clothes, televisions, and apartments—that is, everything that goes directly to people. And, you will note, the idea that ran through the entire party conference was that the economy must not just work for itself but for people and the satisfaction of their needs.

[Berger] That means that the higher a country's national income, the greater will be each citizen's share of that income. Here too we are gradually reducing the gap between us and the developed countries.

[Simonyan] That is not quite so. First, ever since the late seventies the USSR essentially stopped catching up with the capitalist countries in terms of many of the most important parameters of the effectiveness of social production and the level of socioeconomic, scientific, and technical development. And by the mid-eighties a situation had emerged that posed the threat of a progressive lag, including in terms of national income. That is what is meant by the underestimation of the depth of the problems inherited from the period of stagnation—which was discussed at the party conference.

Second, only part of national income goes on personal consumption. Our per capita consumption is almost half the U.S. level. Observe that the lag in the level of personal consumption is virtually identical to the lag in labor productivity. And that is natural: As we work, so shall we live.

[Berger] And yet our economic growth rates, despite a certain fall recently, have always been quite high. Does this mean that the gap will hopefully be reduced?

[Simonyan] You have broached a very tricky question—the question of rates. There are currently many arguments about this in our science. Well, let's take a look at it.

Progress in the capitalist countries' economic development is now not directly linked with increases in purely quantitative indicators such as growth rates. These rates, as the experience of Western countries shows, inevitably fall under the conditions of economic restructuring and transition to resource-saving types of development. It is just such a transition that has been taking place in the capitalist countries over the last 10-15 years. Demand for power, oil, steel, and various types of raw material per unit of national income in the United States and Japan has fallen by 30-40 percent.

Just 5 years after the second oil price surge in 1978, annual oil consumption in the United States had fallen by 200 million tonnes. Can you imagine the scale of the reduction? It is equivalent in size to Japan's entire annual oil consumption and exceeds annual oil consumption in any other country apart from the USSR.

So, as you can see, it is not a question of rates—or rather, it is not so much a question of rates. Since the mid-seventies our economic, scientific, and technical development has run counter to general world trends. Unfortunately, it is extremely difficult to radically alter the expenditure-driven nature of our development.

[Berger] What does "unfortunately" mean?

[Simonyan] Rates are very disparate things. It is possible to develop and successfully resolve accumulated problems with low and even zero growth rates; it is equally possible to exacerbate disproportions, worsen problems, intensify crisis phenomena, and turn into a third-rate power even with high rates. My view is that, given the structure of our economy and its internal imbalances [razbalansirovannost], it is not always justifiable to look for increased rates. The paramount task is to achieve structural improvements in economic development, even at the cost of a certain reduction in gross indicators.

The need to maintain high production growth rates in the absence of reserves of production capacity cannot fail to exert a restraining effect on the potential for qualitative renewal. Moreover, the overworking of obsolete capital in certain sectors—power generation and transportation, for instance—could result in major accidents. Indeed, such accidents are already happening.

Finally, it is no secret that our economic growth rates in the seventies and early eighties were substantially inflated by increased prices and a number of other factors. According to Western estimates, real economic economic growth in the USSR in the eighties was 1.0-1.5 percent. This can be disputed, but clearly the achievement of annual growth rates of the order of 4.5-5 percent would to all intents and purposes indicate a need for a sudden threefold or fourfold acceleration.

[Berger] What way out can you see?

[Simonyan] I think that the way out can be found in a demand that has already been voiced: We should think properly about our development priorities and break the vicious circle whereby growth in production of the means of labor—growth that is not geared to meeting effective demand—requires ever greater expenditure of resources, whose recovery in turn requires an increase in production of the means of labor.

In this regard I believe that we should reduce base sector growth rates and the production of intermediate output and stop producing goods which lie in warehouses, decay immediately, or break down. We should finally stop priding ourselves on high indicators in the extraction of minerals and raw material production, since we cannot be gratified by mere expenditures; we should pride ourselves on end results, efficiency, and competitiveness.

Let me say something seditious. As long as we do not implement a radical economic reform, we will not fundamentally change the structure and nature of our development—we would do better to entirely abandon the pigeonhole [adresnyy] planning of our national economic growth rates as a whole and sector by sector. The main thing now in my view is to ensure that the new economic mechanism works. If it does, everything unnecessary and superfluous will be removed and rates which reflect real relationships within the economy will start emerging. It is not possible to say what those rates will be. I do not rule out the possibility that they could be far higher than we suppose.

There are immense reserves for structural changes. One of our institute specialists recently worked it out. If our ferrous metallurgy industry—whose [fixed] capital, incidentally, is in a shocking state—were reconstructed and modernized (this, naturally, means a modernization of whih we are quite capable, with no hare-brained schemes) we could release more power than is produced by all our nuclear power stations. Imagine—we could "save" an entire power generating sector, not to mention increasing the quality of metal, reducing the pressure on the environment, cutting the workforce, and many other advantages of radical reconstruction. But, quite frankly, it is hard for me to imagine such a structural maneuver.

[Berger] A great deal was said at the 19th party conference about the need for structural improvements and the creation of a cost-cutting mechanism.

[Simonyan] One cannot but be gratified at the question being framed in this way. At the same time, I, as an economist, am worried about the excessively optimistic tone that has recently appeared with regard to the successes of the economic reform and the complete surmounting of near-crisis phenomena. This work is only just starting. The braking mechanism has not yet been completely dismantled or replaced by an acceleration mechanism. The economy largely continues to move along extensive lines.

We should not engage in wishful thinking. Fortunately, we are living at a time when we can get by without myths. Honesty alone can really reinforce the links between the "top brass" and the "grass roots," truth alone can propel restructuring.

IZVESTIYA recently stated that one of the main steps behind the success of reform in China was the honest recognition of the country's position in the world economic hierarchy. The need to engage in wishful thinking immediately disappeared, as did a whole number of ideological problems.

We, of course, are at a much higher level of economic development than China, but we are also on the path of reform and simply must make information more widely available to the public, including unpleasant or "inconvenient" figures.

[Berger] What would you call "inconvenient" figures?

[Simonyan] First and foremost figures on personal consumption and living standards—that is, as we have already said, on the end results of economic development. In our country we provide such figures in a very truncated form. It is true that such figures have been published more recently, but there is still not a full picture.

From the viewpoint of those who until recently were claiming that we had already built a developed socialist society, this information is probably not just "inconvenient" but, perhaps, even harmful.... However, I am personally convinced that people in socialist society are entitled to live and work with their eyes open. The same people who protect others from "unpleasant information" are clearly convinced that they are improving society's general state by so doing. How profoundly misled can you be! Truthful and full information—albeit it about unpleasant matters—poses no threat to the foundations of socialism, as some people have thought hitherto. Silence and the cutting off of information is far more dangerous for socialism.

Can it really be considered normal that we have still not officially assessed the cost of living for different social groups or that the cost of basic consumer goods has in no way been defined? I think that this is not so much a question of methodological difficulties—as is sometimes heard—but that we are ashamed of these "inconvenient" indicators.

[Berger] Well, even if statistical organs do not publish exhaustive figures on living standards—a very broad concept—your scientists should have some information about important components of living standards. Could you discuss them?

[Simonyan] If the main idea of economic restructuring—as I understand it—is to gear the economy to people, then a housing provision is one of restructuring's most

important tasks and, at the same time, is a key indicator of living standards. We should have a clear idea of our resources in comparison with other countries.

Our housing provision is approximately 3 and ½ times less than in the United States. That is without taking the quality difference into account.

[Berger] In terms of commissioned apartments, as far as I am aware, we outstrip both the United States and Japan. In 1986 we built 2.1 million apartments, the United States built 1,756,000, and Japan built 1,365,000.

[Simonyan] That shows yet again that the same thing can be presented in terms of "more convenient" and "less convenient" indicators. Take the same thing per 10,000 inhabitants. This leaves us with 75 apartments, the Americans 73, and the Japanese 112.

[Berger] In my opinion, we're not doing too badly even when you put it that way.

[Simonyan] Of course, this isn't bad. But we should not be complacent about it. With a housing stock that is three times the size of ours, the Americans commissioned 260 million square meters of apartments last year alone—twice as much as we did. This means that if radical revolutionary measures are not taken the gap in housing provision between us and the developed Western countries will increase.

[Berger] What about the cost of housing? After all, unlike other countries our housing is very cheap.

[Simonyan] Indeed, in the capitalist countries apartment rents are quite high (together with municipal services). Average spending on these purposes makes up around 25 percent of American families' consumer spending. But when measured per meter of usable area the difference in the cost of housing and municipal services is not so great.

[Berger] But housing is not the only indicator of living standards.

[Simonyan] In general, ideas of living standards differ from country to country, but there are things that are "obligatory" for all—I mean goods that cannot be done without: food, clothing, footwear, and certain others. On the basis of figures from the USSR State Committee for Statistics and by using comparative methods we have calculated that on average we spend up to 65 percent of our family budget on these things.

[Berger] Won't that affect the forthcoming price reform?

[Simonyan] As the conference resolutions stated, the reform of price formation will be carried out after a nationwide discussion and without any detriment to people's living standards.

This problem is extremely difficult, and it has to be approached with special caution. Just take subsidies. Of course, they are inordinately high in our country. But does this mean that they must be completely abolished at one fell swoop? Yes, they should be sharply reduced, but we should take into account the fact that subsidies are used in many countries. Even in the United States, for instance, there are many food aid programs costing around 19 billion dollars in total. This is considerably less than in our country, but it is still a lot.

[Berger] But in the United States food prices are constantly increasing, which means that subsidies are falling in relative terms.

[Simonyan] In the 30 years from 1955 through 1985 the nominal level of retail food prices in the United States increased by 260 percent. But the population's income level (without taking account of inflation) increased by more than 530 percent. Of course, the figures on prices and incomes are averages. But even our statistics use average figures.

[Berger] And these average figures, incidentally, show that the state retail price indices for basic foodstuffs have remained virtually unchanged for many a long year or have grown only slightly. Yet everyone knows that the prices of many products are below what it costs to produce them.

[Simonyan] Let us not dwell now on what our food production expenditure is. We will only note that labor productivity in our agrarian sector is less than 15 percent what it is in the United States, taking into account the people actually employed in this sector. But that is not the only point. What do "expensive" and "cheap" mean? Everything in the world, as is well known, is relative. Comparing absolute price levels is meaningless. Prices of products and any goods must be related to wages and incomes. Only then can we say whether prices to the consumer are expensive or cheap, only then can we judge living standards. Despite a considerably greater average per capita consumption of meat, fruit, and vegetables than in our country, food in the United States accounts for 20 percent of consumer spending, while our calculations show that it accounts for 45 percent in this country.

[Berger] In comparing prices and incomes, you take no account of payments from social consumption funds, which are very large in this country.

[Simonyan] We included in the concept "average income" all the kinds of payments carried out in this country.

[Berger] What do you propose for improving our economic efficiency and, consequently, people's living standards?

[Simonyan] A great deal is currently being said about the need to develop economic competitiveness as an antidote to stagnation and conservatism. I would frame the

question thus: We need the most real competition, perhaps even tough competition. Without competition there will be no growth in efficiency or prices corresponding to socially necessary expenditure, or any development of scientific and technical progress. We need a real—not a formal—market in the means of production.

[Berger] But is such competition possible in this country, when the entire national economy is divided into 100 or so monopolists—sectorial ministries? Won't we just create yet another Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy or Ministry of Light Industry to compete with each other?

[Simonyan] Naturally, that would be absurd. As many speakers at the conference demanded, we need to weaken the ministries' diktat, give enterprises real independence, remove the burden of departmental interests from them, and allow them to produce what they want and what they consider to be profitable and in demand from consumers.

Speaking at the conference, M.S. Gorbachev said—you will recall—that we must move restructuring forward, and the people want it to proceed more rapidly.

Among the measures which could, in my view, produce returns in the very near future, would be allowing foreign competitors into our market—which would undoubtedly have a major impact on our monopolists. We, on the one hand, are talking about the need to enter the world market, while, on the other hand, we are protecting our producers from the effects of that market—even if they are not always pleasant. But to protect against competition is to protect declining standards. For instance, I do not think that our car industry is helped by the fact that we are virtually the only country in the world that does not import cars.

[Berger] But how can our consumers pressure our monopoly producers if they have no convertible currency with which to buy on the world market what they ordered at home—only better? Otherwise our monopolists will not budge.

[Simonyan] It would be a good idea to introduce even partial ruble convertibility—that is, to allow enterprises to buy foreign exchange for rubles at realistic rates, which will be set on our domestic foreign-exchange market. Citizens should also be allowed to buy foreign exchange—then, for instance, the European Soccer Championships would not have been attended by just 80 of our fans, as the newspapers reported, but far more. But, taking account of our real possibilities, we should start with enterprises. Then they would be able to deal in foreign exchange independently and would be able to choose—and this would be the first step toward real competition.

If we embark on a certain decentralization in the running of the economy, why not take the same route in questions of the use of foreign exchange? And this should not be seen as an infringement of state interests. Civil servants, who have always dealt with foreign exchange on behalf of the state, have by no means done the best of jobs. Huge amounts have been invested in the chemical and extractive sectors instead of being used to create our own modern machine building base. Now the imported equipment bought in the seventies is obsolete, wearing out, and needs replacing—and that means enormous new expenditure.

Thus, the first and main thing that we must do is to **clearly and honestly define the level of our economic development from the standpoint of end results—living standards.** We must think about our priorities again. And we should plainly tell people just how difficult the path ahead will be. We need to be more resolute and perhaps more courageous in our actions.

Agricultural

RSFSR Meat, Dairy Production Increases

LD0707132688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 7 Jul 88

[Text] Purchases of meat, milk, and sheep have increased in the Russian Federation compared with last year. Productivity of cows and fowl has increased. This is reported by the RSFSR State Statistics Committee. At the same time the number of cattle, cows, and pigs was reduced. Experts of the republic's State Agro-Industrial Committee consider this factor to be positive because the number of dry cows and sick animals has declined. The reduction of the herd has enabled feed to be used more effectively. Milk yields and weight gain of animals being fattened have increased. This was for the Russian Federation as a whole.

At the same time there was a fall in sales of animals and fowl by farms in the Kuban, Tataria, Astrakhan, and Orenburg oblasts. There was a fall in the milk yields and purchases in the Maritime Kray, Kuybyshev, and Chelyabinsk oblasts and Tuva ASSR; and in the non-Chernozem zone, farms of Archangel, Vologda, and Kirov Oblasts, and also the Udmurt and Komi ASSR's are listed as lagging behind. There has been a considerable fall in purchases of eggs in Kamchatka, Chechena-Ingusetyia, and Kamlykiya. But, I repeat, in the Russian Federation as a whole, production and purchases of animal produce have grown, which gives hope for better supplies of food.

But what huge reserves we have at our disposal is shown by another report by statisticians. According to their review figures, losses of meat in the country total about 1 million tons a year. Just imagine, Comrades, 1 million tons of meat is lost through mismanagement and faulty technology of dressing cattle. The situation should be helped by the new form of organization of management of the agro-industrial complex, the replacement of the regional agro-industrial associations by cooperative associations on the lines of Novomoskovskoye in Tula

Oblast, combines on the lines of Kuban and Ramenskiy, and also the introduction of contract working. In other words, the peasant must again be master of the soil and bring order to it.

Kolkhoz Chiefs Score Agroprom Extortion

PM1107122388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 2

[I. Abakumov article under the rubric "On the Day's Topics": "Secrecy of Deposits Not Guaranteed"]

[Text] First the day's main news item: According to the data of the USSR State Committee for Statistics, by Monday 4 July grain and pulse crops had been cut on 2.8 million hectares and threshed on 2 million hectares.

But now about fresh rumors on a rural topic. There have been several reports from readers that livestock is being slaughtered everywhere, and for this reason, it is said, there will be a temporary glut but then a long-term dearth of meat and milk. Various reasons are cited: ranging from the feed shortage to the desire of some people to gain favor with others.

Rumors usually arise out of a lack of information. But this one, in my opinion, has arisen out of an excess of it. Villagers spent a long time fighting for their right independently to determine the necessary number of horns and hooves in the herd. For decades there was a nervous and unequal debate over whether you should keep a cow if it gives less milk than a goat but eats five times as much feed. For you will not lay in enough hay or mixed feed for it. We seemed to have grown so accustomed to the insolubility of this question that, when common sense finally triumphed and a skinny yet voracious cow was solemnly led off on its final journey to the meat combine, we felt a certain discomfort at the fact that we had one less topic for a discussion of problems.

In short, the figures do not tally with the rumor. The RSFSR State Committee for Statistics produced an analysis of the state of livestock raising in January-May, which maintains that herd productivity increased despite a reduction in numbers. The number of cows, in particular, fell by 200,000, but 700,000 tonnes more milk were produced. A perfectly natural result: The animals received better care and were able to eat their fill.

This trend will evidently continue: As of 1 July, the number of cattle had fallen by 1 percent and now stands at 51.3 million head. On the other hand, the numbers of sheep and goats have increased to 102 percent of last year's level—62.4 million head.

As you see, one rumor has been rendered groundless. I will proceed to the second one. Literally a few days ago there was talk that money has started to disappear from kolkhoz accounts at the Agroprombank (?Agro-Industrial Bank). Kolkhoz members do not know where it has gone. The first check showed that this is indeed so. Anatoliy Yershov, our own correspondent for Gorkiy Oblast, talked with M. Varnakov, chairman of Dalnekonstantinovskiy Rayon's "Krasnyy Partizan" Kolkhoz. This is what Merkuriy Aleksandrovich said:

"We are indignant at the extortionate charges levied on us to maintain the agro-industrial committee's apparatus. This is how this appears in specific figures: In the first quarter R20,000 was taken from our account, including R16,000 for the oblast agro-industrial committee and R4,000 for the rayon apparatus. Outwardly this was done on legal grounds—such costs have been approved for us or, rather, been imposed from above. And the same picture is repeated in the second quarter, when our agrobank presented us with authorizations for payment of R21,000. Whereas we have taken on every manager in our rayon (their numbers have been reduced 30 percent) and fixed their salary, the oblast agro-industrial committee's apparatus has not been reduced at all, and the money for its upkeep is being taken essentially without our permission. We have decided to put an end to this in the second half of the year."

Yesterday evening I telephoned at random several kolkhoz chairmen in various oblasts: The situation is roughly the same everywhere, the only difference being in the details. It boils down to the "pressure" which the apparatchiks bring to bear on recalcitrants if they refuse to pay. The "Rossiya" Kolkhoz in Belgorod Oblast's Shebekinskiy Rayon has taken up a posture of "all-around defense."

"In June the agro-industrial committee wanted to take R250,000 from our account," Kolkhoz Chairman Nikolay Semenovich Dudnikov shouted down the telephone line. "How did we feel? We had begun making various purchases and had approximately R50,000 left in the account, and they swept it away as though with a broom. And they shake and shake us, demanding R822,000 a year.

"Why should we pay them?" From the tone of the conversation I could feel that the chairman had very serious intentions. "It would be all right if they were deductions from income, but they themselves set the average maximum figure for their own wages for sitting on chairs and they milk and milk the peasants. But what do they give? We start harvesting in 3 days' time, but we have neither tires and tubes nor a reliable fuel supply. Even now, at the time of feed procurement, 70 vehicles are without wheels. What are they thinking about there? A single Kamaz truck needs at least 12 tires, and this is our basic truck. As for rubber, if it is really pressing, it can be patched. But if there is no fuel, you might as well yoke the oxen. Every day I do nothing but try to get hold of diesel fuel or gasoline. And so we have decided not to pay the wages of the agro-industrial committee apparatus. Enough."

As we see, the rumor was founded on facts. What will we do? Be indignant at the actions of the apparatus or admire the peasants' active opposition? We can do both, but, in my view, it will be of little use. Of course, I am no legal expert, but what the agro-industrial committee apparatus does in this instance is very reminiscent of the long formula which ends with the words "...on a particularly large scale" [allusion to legal formulation: "embezzlement on a particularly large scale"] and for purposes far removed from the public interest. I had thought until now that either the chairman or the chief accountant has the right to run a kolkhoz bank account. Or does the Agroprombank think differently? It makes my hackles rise when I imagine that such a practice will spread to savings banks and that investors will learn that someone has already used their money. In this way another rumor might appear....

Mid-June Weather, Crop Development Described

PM0707101388 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 6 Jul 88 p 2

[Report by agrometeorologist Kh. Tebuyev: "The Weather and the Crops"]

[Text] Over the greater part of the USSR's European territory the weather in the main was considerably warmer than usual in the last 10 days of June. There were 3-4 days of rain, mainly torrential, in some areas accompanied by hail and squally winds, in western regions, in the North Caucasus, and in parts of the eastern Ukraine. The majority of Krasnodar and Stavropol Krays and southern parts of Rostov Oblast had the most precipitation (70-160 mm, in places up to 230 mm, which is what you would expect in 1-2 months or more).

In the southern half of the Ukraine, in Moldavia, the North Caucasus, and the Volga area (south of Saratov) winter grain crops had reached the waxy ripeness phase; in eastern parts of the North Caucasus they were fully ripe. Over the remainder of the European USSR the grain was swelling. South of a line joining Orel, Tambov, and Saratov spring wheat had achieved milky ripeness. In the southern Ukraine and North Caucasus corn has formed 15-17 leaves. Over most of the cultivated area potatoes, flax, and tomatoes are in flower, sunflowers are continuing to form flower clusters, and root growth and leaf formation are continuing in sugar beet. The first harvest of cucumbers, grown under plastic, is taking place in Moldavia, the Ukraine, the North Caucasus, and southern parts of the Central Chernozem region.

By 10 July, approximately one week earlier than average, early varieties of transplanted tomatoes will attain yellow, or market, ripeness in the Transcaucasian republics, the North Caucasus, and extreme southern parts of the Volga area. By mid-June they will be yellow-ripe in the southeast half of the Ukraine, in the Central Chernozem region, most of the Volga area, and extreme southern parts of the Volga-Vyatka area. By the end of July and beginning of August tomatoes will attain market-ripeness in the northwest half of the Ukraine, most parts of Belorussia and the Central region, and southern parts of the Northwest region.

In general agrometeorological conditions favored the growth and development of agricultural crops. In most areas the moisture available to crops is good or satisfactory. But agrometeorological conditions remain testing in most parts of the Volga and Ural regions. Over substantial areas the moisture available to crops is poor and plants have been damaged by hot, dry winds. At the same time, in a number of western oblasts of the Ukraine, central parts of Krasnodar Kray, western parts of Stavropol Kray, and parts of Voronezh, Belgorod, Kharkov, Rostov, and Donetsk oblasts the soil is waterlogged because of abundant precipitation. Crops have been damaged by torrential rain and hail and there is evidence of crop diseases.

In farming areas of Siberia the weather has been cool. Precipitation varied between 1-10 mm and 11-30 mm, in places 31-70 mm. There was heavy rain in the Transbaykal area (40-120 mm, which is 2-4 times the average amount for the 10-day period). In Kazakhstan it was hot at the beginning of the period, but then the heat abated and the average temperature for the 10-day period was near normal everywhere. In most parts of Kazakhstan there was little precipitation (1-10 mm); only a few areas had 11-30 mm. Winter crops are flowering in West Siberia. In Krasnoyarsk Kray and Irkutsk Oblast winter rye is forming ears and early spring crops have developed the lower stalk node. Because of a prolonged lack of warmth in East Siberia crops are approximately one week behind in their development.

It was hot in the Central Asian republics in the first half of the period. In most parts cotton started flowering at about the normal time. In southern oblasts it has formed 1-2 bolls, which is nearly 10 days earlier than average. In most area the plants are in good shape. As a result of prompt irrigation measures there is sufficient moisture in the soil.

Agricultural Developments for 26 Jun-3 Jul

LD0507013788 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 26 June-3 July. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

27 June:

Haymaking has begun in the Ukraine. (1130)

29 June:

The grain harvest has begun in the Crimea today. (1000)

30 June:

The harvesting of cereals has started in Moldavia. Bread grain is at present being harvested in nine union republics. Grain and pulses have been harvested and threshed from more than 800,000 hectares. More than 14,000,000 tonnes of hay have been laid in and almost 25,000,000 tonnes of haylage. Early sorts of potatoes are already being harvested. (2000)

2 July:

Reaping winter cereal crops has entered a decisive stage in Uzbekistan. To date almost 700,000 tonnes of grain have been threshed in that republic. In Dzhizak Oblast less than 10 percent of the plan for grain purchases has been fulfilled. Tashkent and Samarkand Oblasts are slow in carrying out this work even though over half of the acreage under breadgrains have been harvested. (1000)

In the Ukraine and Stavropol, Transcaucasian and Central Asian republics, there is a new type of winter barley, which can be sown in the spring as well as in the autumn. (1300)

3 July:

Barley harvesting has begun in Krasnodar Kray. In the southern uplands, there has been rain every day, but the wind and sun quickly dry the crop out, making harvesting possible. The harvest is a good one, approaching the 50 quintals per hectare mark. (0406)

Livestock farmers in the Altay have fulfilled the 6-month plan for sales of meat and milk to the state. Over 10,000 tonnes of extra meat and some 40,000 tonnes of extra milk will be placed at the state's disposal. (0600)

4-6 Jul Developments

LD0707032088 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 4-6 July. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

4 July:

Zaporozhye Oblast has begun harvesting its grain. (0400)

Harvesting has begun in the foothill regions of Northern Ossetiya, where barley is being cut in the Terek and Ardon valleys. (Moscow Television Service in Russian 1130)

In Zaporpozhye machine operators have started harvesting bread grain from an area of about 700,000 hectares. (1300)

6 July:

Wheat harvesting begins today in Krasnodar Kray, where harvesting is particularly difficult this year, since torrential rain has flooded tens of thousands of hectares. (0400)

According to the information of the USSR State Committee for Statistics, by Monday, 4 July, the grain crops and pulses had been harvested on an area of 2.8 million hectares and threshed on 2 million hectares.

The RSFSR goskomstat has provided analysis of livestock-breeding from January to May, where it is stated that while the numbers of cattle diminished, its productivity grew. For example, there are 200,000 fewer cows in the republic but 700,000 tonnes more milk have been obtained. By 1 July the numbers of sheep and goats had grown by two percent compared with last year's level. (Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700)

The harvest in Kranodar Kray is being carried out in conditions of heavy rainstorms, which have flooded tens of thousands of hectares. In some parts the daily rainfall has been three times the annual norm. Corn, sunflowers, vegetables, and grain are underwater. Farmers are using rice-harvesting machinery to harvest grain crops under water. Over 230,000 hectares of agricultural crops are underwater today. Experts say that about 120,000 hectares of them have already perished. Half of that is ripe bread grain, primarily winter barley, winter wheat, and pulse crops. It is now being decided what crops to resow. (1800)

Scientific

'Phobos-2' Launched, 'Phobos-1' Begins Research

Specialists' News Conference

LD0907103288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1440 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] The Soviet booster rocket Proton put the automatic interplanetary station Phobos-1 into space late yesterday evening. This same action marked the start of the implementation of a major international space project.

A press conference was held for Soviet and foreign journalists at the space center today. It was opened by Academician Igor Mikhaylovich Makarov:

[Begin recording] [Makarov] I feel that this is a great step forward for the very interesting booster craft Proton, at this splendid space center. Just look at the constellation of representatives of the best firms and scientific establishments who are dealing with this highly important problem for mankind, the study of space. We have even been joined by a group of U.S. military officials. I think that it would have been difficult 5 years ago to imagine such a thing in this place; and all this is a result of the fact that active processes of restructuring are in progress in our country now, as well as the strengthening, so to

speak, of interaction between countries in various spheres; and we hope that our cooperation in the area of scientific research will develop further in the immediate future.

As you know, the launch proceeded successfully, and now Professor Kovtunenko, Vyacheslav Mikhaylovich, will present details.

[Unidentified official] I shall introduce him to you. He is the scientific head of the Babakin scientific center and chief designer.

[Kovtunenko] It is, in fact, a new apparatus of a new generation. Therefore, yesterday was for us the very great and exciting start of this project. The Proton rocket is the rocket which forms the basis for the implementation of such projects. I can say that this is what it can put into full orbit: the mass of equipment which went up with the launch—that is, 1,220 [unit not specified]; a mass of scientific equipment of 460 with the first vehicle, and 425 with the second. I can say that all the systems on board are functioning normally. The first adjustment to the orbit will be made in 10 days time. Then, two orbit corrections will also be carried out on the approach to Mars. Both measurements of the trajectory and scientific measurements will be made during the section when it flies over. The culmination of this project will be the transition into the orbit of Mars, the so-called orbit of expectation, in which the study of Phobos and a precise (?ascertainment) of their relative positions will take place. It is envisaged that we shall have both a television system and a stellar and planetary sensor involved in this process. This is the main thing for getting into a synchronous orbit of Phobos, after the measurements have been taken. [end recording]

More on News Conference

PM1307080188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Special correspondent A. Ivakhnov "Reportage from the Baykonur Space Center": "Expedition to Mars in the Year 2015?"]

[Excerpt] Baykonur had never heard so many languages before. Scientists and journalists from a dozen countries taking part in the elaboration and implementation of the "Phobos" space project were gathered on the spectators' platform with the panorama of launch positions stretching out before them.

The arrival of a large group of U.S. Air Force officers accompanied by Colonel General of Aviation G. Titov was a surprise for everyone. Who would have thought just a few years ago that in the sanctum of our main space center Soviet rocketeers would be exchanging handshakes and being photographed with their transatlantic colleagues!

"I too would have never have thought that I would be attending the launch of a Soviet rocket," General D.L. Kroler [name as published] said. "When I climbed out of the aircraft today, I felt something similar to what Neil Armstrong must have felt when he took his first step on the moon. After all, I happened to be the first U.S. staff officer to set foot in the Soviet space center...."

"The launch made a tremendous impression on me," the U.S. general confided after the launch of "Phobos-1." "No space launch leaves people indifferent, no matter in which country it takes place. I would like to congratulate all the Soviet people on their new success in space exploration. The question is now being examined of an international mission to Mars which was also mentioned at the Moscow meeting between our countries' leaders. The launch of 'Phobos-1' is an important step along this road."

Essentially this was also the theme of the press conference given the next day by members of the "Phobos" international scientific council. V. Kovtunenko, chief designer and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences told journalists that the next steps in the exploration of the "red planet" will be the dispatch of Mars buggies to the planet in 1994 and 1996 and the delivery of Martian soil to the Earth in 1998.

A. Dunayev, chief of the USSR Main Administration for the Creation and Utilization of Space Technology, said further that the first manned mission to Mars could take place in 2015-2017. Yesterday we exchanged views on this subject with representatives of the U.S. military command and came to the conclusion that such a colossal program can only be implemented on the basis of broad international cooperation. Soviet carrier rockets, U.S. experience of placing a manned module on the moon, highly sophisticated space instruments manufactured in many countries—all these represent important preliminaries to the development of an interplanetary spacecraft. It would be possible to jointly resolve the task of building a nuclear power unit which would make it possible to cover the distance to Mars more quickly and to ensure the crew's radiation safety. According to U.S. experts' estimates, building such a spacecraft could cost some $50 billion; we believe that it would require R25 to 30 billion.

By pooling the efforts of scientists and specialists of different countries, I. Makarov, chief scientific secretary of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium, said, it will be possible to resolve this task more cheaply and quickly and to find more original solutions. But even that is not the main thing. Joint work on the Mars mission will play a most important role in strengthening friendship and mutual understanding between peoples.

Representatives of Poland and France declared the readiness of their countries to take part in the elaboration of Mars space projects. Then the floor was taken by Doctor L. Fisk [name as published], deputy director of NASA:

"In April 1987 a Soviet-American Treaty on Cooperation in the Sphere of Space Exploration was concluded. Our President's visit to Moscow provided the impetus for its expansion, and next month an official U.S. delegation will arrive in the USSR to discuss this question. We view the prospects of this cooperation with hope."

A WASHINGTON POST correspondent asked about dates for the first launching of a Soviet space shuttle.

"We have reached the final lap in the creation of a shuttle system," the chief of the USSR Main Administration for the Creation and Utilization of Space Technology said. "Tests are now being carried out around the clock. The first launches will not be manned. As soon as we are ready to place the craft in orbit, we will show it on television and announce the launch date." [passage omitted]

International Interest Cited

LD1007213288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 10 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The interplentary space ship Phobos-2 was brought to the launch position today. A reportage from Baykonur Cosmodrome:

[S. Slipchenko, identified by screen caption] It seemed to us that even before launch, Phobos-2 has been a bit lucky. If the first station covered the whole route from the assembly and testing block to the launch pad, and then spent all the days up to launch in the rays of the burning sun—and very hot weather makes the fuel filling operation difficult—the second arrived today in pouring rain. Even the oldest inhabitants do not remember such weather at Baykonur, where there is not a single cloud for 330 days of the year, especially in the summer. It took the ship more than an hour to cover 11 kms (?of steppe). That is not space speed. But at the moment of launch, Proton almost literally shoots out of a gun. In a fraction of a second, it speeds up to more than ten (?g). This physical unit is well known to everyone from the schoolroom. [video shows Proton and Phobos complex lying on their side being driven from tracks; and what looks like a launch pad]

Previously, to increase reliability and to guarantee success, they used to dispatch four stations to Mars. Now it is only two. The reliability of the technology has improved. Judge for yourselves: in the basic main engines of the first stage, there are only 11 joints. Unfortunately, they are often much better informed abroad about Soviet rocket and space technology than we are here in the country. And now representatives of business circles are taking an active interest. For example, representatives of the biggest insurance companies of Italy, the United States, Britain and the FRG are coming for the launch of Phobos 2. And these two companies, an Italan and an Austrian one, obviously have unqualified faith in its success and have put their advertisements on Proton. [video shows more shots of complex and what looks like a launch pad, with Glavkosmos banner hanging on it; partially illegible advertisements—one reads (?Danieli)]

The weight of the rocket has been transferred from the flatcar to the launching pad. The installation is nearly complete. The servicing firm comes up, it opens its steel arms, and there is another advertisement, this time for a Soviet firm. The main sponsor—this term too has turned up at Baykonur—is the Elektronika Advertising Association. [video shows more shots of complex; servicing crew in what looks like a temporary cabin; small badge on crew's shirts, partially illegible, but bearing word Elektronika]

Yes, our country has something to advertize. All the more so as when they approach things as they (?did in discussing) Proton's readiness to be brought out yesterday at the technical council and the state commission. The basic principle here is: A surname, first name and patronymic can be attached to each mistake. There is always a person behind an error. And listening to the report of the state commission at the session, I thought: Suppose we discussed questions of the production of machines, shoes and the quality of house building in the same way? We know how to make rockets, but not yet things that are rather simpler.

Phobos-2 is not a repetition of the first stations. Rather, it supplements it, and together they will work for scientists from many countries. This is why Baykonur is now a place which attracts diplomats and engineers, businessmen and scientists. Baykonur proposes that all should work together for all. [video shows session of commission, where two groups of people in the same room are sitting at right angles to each other; more views of rocket]

Research on Planetary Expanse

LD0907101688 Moscow TASS in English 0900 GMT 9 Jul 88

[Text] The interplanetary probe Phobos-1 is into the second day of its flight to Mars. By the time it has already flown over 1 million km. The instruments of the station have begun research into the expanse between the planets. At Baykonur preparations are being completed for the launch of the Phobos-2. I remind you that its launch has been set for 12 July.